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INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

BREAK WITH CHILE SEEN IF LEFT UNION WINS ELECTIONS

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 12 Feb 78 p 14

[Interview with Antoine Blanca, director of Latin American relations for the Socialist Party, in Paris, by Reali Junior, exact date not given]

[Text] Paris. France may sever diplomatic relations with Pinochet's Chile within the next 30 days. This will be one of the first foreign-policy initiatives of a socialist government in the event of a leftist victory in the March legislative elections. It would be considered a symbolic gesture that should serve as a warning to other Latin American countries, essentially Argentina and Uruguay. The decision is final, according to Antoine Blanca, director of Latin American relations for the Socialist Party, who in a long interview looked ahead to the general outlines of the Latin American policy of a socialist cabinet likely to be presided over by Francois Mitterand.

Relations between a leftist government in France and Latin American nations should be marked by a political and economic realism and, however great the desire to yield to political sentiment, the interests of the French economy must be taken into account. An eventual socialist government will seek to create preferential economic relations with nations that maintain consitutional and democratic governments, such as Venezuela, Costa Rica, Colombia (in spite of current difficulties), Mexico and even Cuba, although within a different perspective. Development of relations with this last country, according to the PS [Socialist Party], could contribute to lessening the current tutelage of the Eastern bloc.

As for Brazil, Blanca used the same definition as Nixon, but in an inverse sense: "As Brazil goes, so also should go Latin America." The socialist leader explained that Nixon used that phrase when thinking of maintaining a model dictatorship of national security that would be followed by other Latin American nations. But the French socialists are convinced that if Brazil were a democratic nation many other nations would be also.

Blanca expressed optimism regarding redemocratization in Brazil, justifying that optimism by asserting that there is currently an interesting evolution in the nation. He advocates a global policy, not only by France but by all

of Europe, in relation to Latin America, emphasizing that Europe is not just West Germany. The French socialists do not conceal a certain concern about the role that, on a European level, West Germany has been playing in Latin America, especially in Brazil.

The French PS director of Latin American relations talked at great length about the eventual creation of a PS and a new labor party in Brazil, considering a revival of the PTB [Brazilian Labor Party] as the most viable. He mentioned that the European social democratic parties are supported by large labor union confederations. For this reason he does not agree with those who think that an artificial Brazilian PS can arise through the mere meeting of a few parliamentary political leaders. After the death of Joao Goulart, he is convinced that Leonel Brizola will be the leader of a labor party in Brazil, "if he can restrain autocratic tendencies and let the party function democratically."

In the nuclear field, a socialist government will submit all policy for installing plants abroad to strict conditions so that the agreement for non-proliferation of nuclear arms may be respected. The PS believes that something more is concealed behind the moralistic Carter policy. He, as any other American leader, does not look favorably on a genuine policy of diversification of all Latin American nations. Finally, he discussed the current differences between the PS and PC [Communist Party] in relation to Latin America. These differences are more specific and fundamental in analyzing the Argentine problem, where "the PC for a long time has played ball with the progressive military men, whereas we favor constitutional governments, denouncing dictatorships of the Left and Right."

The answers of the socialist leader to questions asked within the perspective of a leftist victory and eventual formation of a socialist government after 19 March:

[Question] What would relations be like between a leftist government and Latin American nations?

[Answer] They will be marked by political and economic realism. Whatever may be our desire to yield to political sentiment, it is clear that we must take into consideration political and economic reality, existing contracts in certain fields and the interests of the French economy. We will not adopt a policy that could be considered venturesome and that no country, including Cuba, presently practices. We will maintain and develop our contacts with all progressive forces of Latin America that seek, through democratic means, to change the course of history on that continent. A socialist government must be motivated by the positions of the PS, taking the above-mentioned imperatives into consideration.

I should point out, however, the importance of a few symbolic gestures. One of the first will be the breaking of diplomatic relations with Pinochet's Chile, if that government is still in existence, since who

knows how long it will be allowed to exist. This break is explained by the fact that it concerns a nation where a constitutional and democratic government was overthrown, through a coup d'etat and unprecedented brutality. This gesture should have a symbolic meaning in the eyes of the French, Europeans, North Americans and Latin Americans. Clearly, we will not have a policy that severs relations with all regimes that are not democratic, since in that case we would have no relations with many countries of the world.

Another point in the policy of a socialist government is the establishment of preferential economic relations with nations that maintain constitutional and democratic governments, such as Venezuela, Colombia (in spite of current difficulties), Costa Rica and others that are freeing themselves, in certain ways, from the yoke of U.S. imperialism. We also are thinking about developing relations with Cuba, but within another perspective. We believe that the role of Europe will be very important in helping to lessen the influence of the Eastern bloc over that nation. Finally, we also hope to develop our relations with Brazil, a nation about which we are convinced that wherever it goes, so also will go, in large part, Latin America.

[Question] But isn't that a Nixon definition?

[Answer] It is, but the reasons are different. Nixon intended that a model dictatorship of national security should exist in Brazil, so that the whole continent could follow its example. We declare exactly the opposite. We are convinced that if Brazil were a democratic nation, many other Latin American nations would also be model democracies. If there were a Brazilian economic effort to defend itself against the action of the multinationals, other countries of the continent could also become liberated. If I say that Brazil will be a democratic nation, it is because we are currently observing an interesting evolution.

Respect for the Brazilian Position

Antoine Blanca, responding to questions asked specifically about Brazil, showed he has a very broad view of problems and prospects of Brazilian politics and analyzed the importance that the creation of new parties could represent for redemocratization of the nation.

[Question] But in what way does the PS intend to foster redemocratization in Brazil?

[Answer] Brazil is an independent nation and so is France. Thus, it will not be we who will determine Brazilian policy. But we believe that, in a direct or indirect way, the French Government--and the Poniatowski mission confirms it--has contributed to maintaining the present dictatorship in Brazil. We will not continue on that path, but rather the contrary; however, we will respect the Brazilian right to find its own solutions.

In Argentina, Poniatowski made a certain number of declarations that, under the pretext of combating terrorism, actually translated into supporting military dictatorship. He believes that all means that are aimed at combating terrorism are good, and that democracy and human rights must yield, first and foremost, to the purposes of fighting terrorism. That is a very loose interpretation when it is known that, under the pretext of combating terrorism, lawyers, senators, deputies and the families of those who for one reason or another are opponents of the regime, are being assassinated. That is an interpretation that we cannot tolerate.

[Question] What makes the PS believe that Brazil is on the road to a democracy?

[Answer] Right now, there is a lot going on in Brazil. There will be a presidential change, even though democratic guarantees continue to be arguable, since the recent decrees modified what could have been a broad popular exchange. But our information is that there will be a recognition of various parties.

It is true that full democracy implies recognition of all parties, but really there will be a selective recognition, less from the desire for a great liberalization, but more from the fear of an eventual defeat of the official government party by a party monopolizing all opposition. This creation of new parties can play an important role. We are thinking particularly about the labor party, bearing in mind its historic roots in Brazil, which have been maintained intact in some regions, especially in Rio Grande do Sul.

[Question] Has the French PS held discussions with Brazilian politicians for creating the Brazilian PS?

[Answer] There have been no high-level contacts. A few MDB [Brazilian Democratic Movement] deputies merely held some middle level discussions. In Madrid, meanwhile, discussions were held with smaller groups of six or seven persons, at the time of the "Socialist International" meeting in October, but this did not lead to further meetings in Paris. My impression is that the persons who hold such views and express them are much divided about the opportunity for creating the party and are not totally in agreement concerning the substance of a socialist party in Brazil. Let me say one thing frankly: a socialist party is not created in the laboratories of a small pharmacy, mixing such and such contents, stirring them and emerging with a PS as a result. A PS and social-democratic parties in Europe are parties of great working class tradition which are supported by large labor union confederations as in Sweden, England, Germany, the Netherlands, and Belgium. They are, in essence, the fruits of a long gestation.

The French PS does not maintain, as does, for example, a German social-democracy, a specific and active policy for Latin America. It happens that in Brazil a PS has existed that never succeeded in being a great mass party rooted in the labor-union movement. Without wishing to tarnish

its reputation, the Brazilian PS was formed by intellectual minorities. That being the case, I am not among those who think that a Brazilian PS can be born in an artificial way by the mere meeting of a few parliamentary political leaders. We of the French PS think that a Brazilian PS can be born in an artificial way by the mere meeting of a few parliamentary political leaders. We of the French PS think that the erstwhile PTB's tradition of being rooted in the masses and in the labor unions can play a much more important role, to the extent that authorization of such a party's functioning should exist. But we recognize perfectly well all the ambiguities of the Brazilian labor movement, beginning with its Getulist origins. Our position is realistic and we also believe that after the death of ex-President Joao Goulart, former governor Leonel Brizola could be the uncontested leader of the Brazilian labor movement, if he manages to restrain autocratic tendencies and lets the party function democratically. Should that occur, that party could evolve into a form of socialist democracy. We intend to hold discussions with leaders of the PTB and with Leonel Brizola in Paris. At this moment our delegation at the "Socialist International" should be holding discussions with them.

[Question] How would a socialist government view the policy of French investments in Brazil?

[Answer] Various working groups in the PS are studying all these issues that relate to the Third World, but we have not yet progressed to such a point that would enable us to define now what our investment policy in Brazil would be. On the one hand, some large sectors that invested in Brazil are likely to be nationalized. Now, due to the fact that Brazil maintains this or that government, to state that we could dismantle the factories and repatriate the capital is something that I will not say. We do not intend to adopt a neoimperialist policy that would consist of deriving the maximum profit from a lower cost of labor, thus contributing to increasing the gap between developed and developing nations. We intend to adopt a policy of technology transfer, of profound solidarity with the nations of the Third World in such a way that those nations would not be merely a source of cheap labor, bringing about capital repatriation in an exaggerated manner, which is the current case of Brazil. Concerned with preserving the legitimate interests of the French people, we intend to assist in the creation of a genuine industrialization of developing nations that brings about their authentic economic takeoff.

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TIES BETWEEN SOVIET, L.A. ACADEMICIANS DISCUSSED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 77 signed to press 17 Aug 77 pp 148-153

{Article by A. A. Kulakov, chief of the USSR Academy of Sciences Foreign Affairs Department: "Increasing Ties Between Soviet and Latin American Scholars"}

{Text} The USSR Academy of Sciences is building its foreign contacts in accordance with the well known goals and principles of Soviet foreign policy; these goals and principles are formulated in the draft basic law--the new USSR Constitution--which was put forward for national discussion. It specifically states in a special chapter of the Constitution: "The Soviet state consistently pursues a Leninist policy of peace and it stands for the consolidation of the security of peoples and widespread international cooperation."

"The USSR's foreign policy is aimed at ensuring favorable international conditions for building communism in the USSR, strengthening the position of world socialism, supporting the peoples' struggle for national liberation and social progress, preventing wars of aggression and consistently implementing the principle of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems." *

International contacts between the USSR Academy of Sciences and foreign scientific institutions, including those of Latin American

* KOMMUNIST, 1977, No 8, p 12

countries, are implemented in diverse ways: the participation of scholars in international and national scientific arrangements, mutual exchanges for giving lectures, familiarization with scientific projects, joint research, an exchange of literature and information, etc.

The need for a more in-depth and comprehensive study of this part of the world was caused by the increasing role of Latin America in international affairs and the increase in its peoples' struggle for their national liberation. In 1961 the Institute for Latin America (ILA) was created within the USSR Academy of Sciences for this purpose; its scientific collective conducts research on the entire range of this region's problems; it maintains widespread contacts with the scientific organizations of its countries and it is making a large contribution to strengthening the scientific ties between the USSR Academy of Sciences and Latin American countries. These ties have taken on an especially active nature during the past years.

During 1974 the following people visited the Soviet Union as guests of the ILA: Dr G. Valdez, the director of the Latin American Bureau of the UN Development Program, and Dr Luis Vasquez Campos, President of the Society for Geography and Statistics of Mexico, with whom the problems of possible directions for collaboration were discussed. During 1975 the following people were received at ILA for scientific work and mutual consultations on the problems of Latin American studies: Mexican economist Professor F. Carmona, Colombian economist Dr Jose Consuegra, Venezuelan scholar N. K. Barrios and others. In 1976 the following served an apprenticeship at the institute: Dr Silva Chirinos, a Venezuelan economist and scientific research worker at the Zulia State University, and Dr Ricardo Blanco, a Costa Rican scholar from San Jose University. While visiting the Soviet Union, Dr Ignacio Chavez Cuevas, the director of the Scientific Center of the Colombian National University (Bogota), suggested that ILA develop and sign a protocol on ILA's scientific cooperation with this university. Other scientific institutions of Colombia, and also of Mexico, have shown an interest in signing documents on cooperation with ILA. Dr Leonardo Paso (Argentina), director of the V. Codovilla Center for Marxist Studies, visited the Soviet Union to discuss questions of scientific cooperation with ILA.

Productive trips to the countries of this region by ILA staff members--specifically, V. V. Vol'skiy, director of the institute, professor and doctor of economics--have promoted the establishment of widespread scientific ties with Latin American scholars. He has traveled to Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Venezuela, Peru and Argentina on many occasions; he has also conducted talks on the development and expansion of scientific ties and contacts there. Thus, for example, along with the institute's scientific secretary, A. D. Mayevskiy, V. V. Vol'skiy visited Panama where he conducted talks with Dr Romulo Escobar Betancourt, the rector of the Panama State University, on scientific cooperation between the Panamanian University and one of the USSR universities. As a rule, these trips to the Latin American countries are accompanied by lectures at the leading universities of Latin America. Thus, during his stay in Colombia, V. V. Vol'skiy lectured on the development of science and education in the USSR at the Jorge Tadeo Losano University in the capital city.

The ILA representatives were given a warm reception at Simon Bolivar University in Barranquilla where honorary degrees as professors of this university were conferred on the Soviet scholars.

The editorial board of the USSR AS ILA magazine LATINSKAYA AMERIKA maintains continuing contacts with Latin American scholars of all countries. S. A. Mikoyan, the magazine's chief editor and a doctor of history, has visited the countries of Latin America on numerous occasions; he had numerous contacts with prominent Latin American scholars and politicians there. At the invitation of the former president of Mexico, Luis Echeverria Alvarez, he went to this country at the end of last year to participate in the opening of the Third World Research Center and also to collect material for a special issue of the magazine which was devoted to Mexico.

It is also necessary to point out the multilateral scientific contacts between Soviet scholars and their colleagues in Mexico, Venezuela and other countries in the area of social sciences. The fact that a position as a corresponding member of the Venezuelan Francisco Miranda Institute for Historical Studies was conferred on I. R. Grigulevich--Soviet Latin American scholar, scientific research worker at the USSR Academy of Sciences' Ethnographic Institute, professor and doctor of history--and that he was

awarded the Order of Francisco Miranda and also the fact that V. Y. Vol'skiy, the director of the USSR AS ILA, and A. F. Shul'govskiy--director of the institute's Department for Socio-political Problems, professor and doctor of history--were awarded the Venezuelan Order of Andres Bello, are proof of the increasing scientific ties between Soviet and Venezuelan scholars.

The joint work on board the USSR Academy of Sciences scientific research ships and also these ships' visits to Latin American ports promoted a strengthening of ties with Latin American scholars. Beneficial contacts with scientists took place in 1974 when the scientific research ship Akademik Kurchatov visited the ports of Willemstad (near Curacao), Callao (Peru), Guayaquil (Ecuador) and Puntarenas (Costa Rica). During the 1975 visit of the scientific research ship "Dmitriy Mendeleyev" to Peru, the well known Soviet geologist Academician V. I. Smirnov conducted conversations while getting acquainted at the scientific institutions of this country.

The USSR Academy of Sciences established close cooperation with the scientific institutions of a number of Latin American countries on the issue "Scientific Research With the Help of Observations of Artificial Earth Satellites." Joint Soviet-Bolivian and Soviet-Ecuadorian astronomical research on the photographic observation of satellites and other space objectives is being conducted on the basis of interdepartmental agreements between the USSR Academy of Sciences Council on Astronomy and the corresponding institutions of Bolivia and Ecuador. The Soviet astronomers Yu. L. Spirin, S. K. Tatevyan and S. A. Severnyy went to Bolivia for this purpose and N. P. Yerpylev, V. A. Yurevich and other research workers of the USSR AS Council on Astronomy went to Ecuador.

Dr. Carlos Aguirre, the director of the Bolivian Institute for Physical Research, came to the Soviet Union as a guest of the Academy of Sciences to familiarize himself with the work of the astronomical stations at Yakutsk and in the Crimea and also for talks on cooperation with the USSR AS Council on Astronomy. It is necessary to point out that Soviet astronomers have very widespread scientific ties and contacts with many astronomers of the Latin American countries: Mexico, Argentina, Brazil and others. Soviet astrophysicists G. M. Timofeyeva and A. N. Korzhavin went

to Mexico in 1973-74 to work on studies of the quasiperiodic fluctuations in the sun's radio emissions and to observe a partial eclipse in December 1973. Last year, the Argentine astrophysicist Dr. R. Sistero, director of the Astronomical Observatory of the National University at Cordova and president of the Argentine Association of Astronomers, visited the USSR.

Scientific ties between the USSR Academy of Sciences and the countries of Latin America are implemented both on the basis of intergovernmental agreements on cultural and scientific exchanges and agreements on scientific and technological cooperation and on the basis of mutual understandings between Soviet and Latin American scientific institutions.

Mexico was one of the first Latin American countries with whom an intergovernmental agreement was signed; at present, widespread cooperation with the USSR is being maintained on the basis of this agreement. The cooperation is being implemented along two directions: the social and natural sciences. The widespread contacts between scholars of El Colegio de Mexico and ILA promoted the development of ties in the social science sphere. The visit of Dr. Victor Urkidi, the president of El Colegio de Mexico, to the USSR in 1975 as a guest of the USSR AS further strengthened the ties between Soviet and Mexican scholars. Representatives of both countries have shown a mutual interest in expanding scientific ties on the problems of studying the history of the workers' movement in Mexico and Latin America. T. T. Timofeyev, the director of the USSR AS Institute for the International Workers Movement and a corresponding member of the USSR AS, went to Mexico to discuss these problems. Dr. Jorge Basurto, a scientific research worker at the National Autonomous University of Mexico, was admitted to the USSR Academy of Sciences under the Cultural, Educational and Social Sciences Exchange Program for 1976 for work on this topic.

The May 1975 visit to the USSR by a delegation from the National Council on Science and Technology (CONASIT) of Mexico headed by Dr. Gerardo Bueno Sirion, the director general, served to strengthen Soviet-Mexican ties in the area of natural sciences. Conversations with him at the USSR AS Presidium and the USSR AS Foreign Affairs Department made it possible for us to determine

the prospects for development of scientific cooperation between the USSR and Mexico.

A Joint Soviet-Mexican Commission was created in accordance with the intergovernmental agreement on scientific and technological cooperation between the USSR and Mexico which was signed on 1 October 1975. The Mexican section is headed by Dr. Carlos Gonzalez Parrodi, director general for cultural and technical cooperation of the Mexican MFA [Ministry of Foreign Affairs], and the Soviet section is headed by Academician A. Yu. Ishlinskiy, a member of the USSR Council of Ministers State Committee on Science and Technology.

In June 1976, a Soviet delegation--consisting of Academician A. Yu. Ishlinskiy, the chairman of the Soviet section of the Joint Commission; his deputy, the author of this article; A. M. Bliznakova, the responsible secretary of the Soviet section of the commission; and other specialists--visited Mexico. A Program for Scientific and Technological Cooperation between the USSR and Mexico for 1976-77 was signed during the trip. This is an important working document for comprehensive scientific cooperation. At the end of 1976, L. P. Grishchuk, a senior scientific research worker of the State Astronomical Institute imeni Shternberg and a candidate of physico-mathematical sciences, went to Mexico for scientific work and to give lectures on relativistic astronomy under this program; more than 10 scientists from the USSR AS will go to Mexico in 1977: geologists, specialists in the area of scientific information, oceanographers, mathematicians and physicists.

The National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) is making a large contribution to the development of ties with the USSR Academy of Sciences. At its invitation, many Soviet scholars have visited Mexico: for scientific work, to read lectures, to get acquainted etc. In 1975, UNAM organized a symposium dedicated to the 50th anniversary of the prominent Soviet biochemist and academician A. I. Oparin's theory on "The Origin of Life," with the participation of the academician himself. The organization of the symposium was a recognition of the achievements of Soviet science. An honorary doctor of sciences degree was conferred on

Academician A. I. Qparin in 1976 at the UNAM with the ceremonial presentation of the corresponding diploma.

After intergovernmental agreements were signed, scientific ties expanded with Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica, Peru and Venezuela.

Lately, scholars of the USSR Academy of Sciences have actively participated in international scientific meetings which took place in the Latin American countries. For example, in 1974 17 Soviet scholars went to Brazil to participate in the 17th KOSPAR {expansion unknown} Congress; 9 Soviet biologists participated in the 4th Congress on Steroids which took place in Mexico. In 1976, a representational delegation of Soviet oriental specialists headed by Academician B. G. Gafurov participated in the 30th International Congress of the Humanities on the Problems of the Countries of Asia and North Africa, which was held in Mexico.

The Latin American scholars also actively participated in similar affairs which were held in the USSR. Over 20 representatives of Latin American countries studied at the UNESCO international courses on specialization in industrial information and documentation in the USSR. Twelve Latin American colleagues participated in the Congress of Soil Scientists which was held in the USSR in 1974. In 1975, approximately 30 Latin American scientists participated in the Congress of Botanists which was also held in the Soviet Union.

Today, it is possible to note with satisfaction that the ties between the USSR Academy of Sciences and the scientific institutions and individual scientists of the Latin American countries have significantly increased and they deserve a high appraisal. However, there is still a great deal of potential for expanding and deepening the cooperation of our scientists in all scientific sectors. This potential must be used for the benefit of strengthening peace and developing science and progress.

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ARGENTINA

FIGUEIREDO'S COMMENTS ON 'TRILATERAL' ANALYZED

Buenos Aires CLARIN in Spanish 13 Feb 78 pp 6, 7

[Article by Daniel Marin: "Brazil and the Trilateral"]

[Text] Gen Joao Baptista Figueiredo, a candidate to succeed Ernesto Geisel to the presidency of Brazil, expressed his interest in extending his country's links with Argentina. "There are no contingent problems that would push us away from the Argentines," he stated according to disclosures made by a spokesman of the official party ARENA [National Renewal Alliance].

These comments are in line with the gradual rapprochement that has become evident in the last few months and which--as is pointed out--is slated to continue over time.

On the other hand one cannot overlook the importance that it occurs on the eve of the Asuncion trilateral meeting at which Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay will try to reach agreements for the construction and operation of the Alto Parana dams, this time at the diplomatic-political level.

The trilateral arrangement, which was initially viewed with distrust by many sectors, has been transformed into a clever instrument for the rapprochement of viewpoints and the phasing out of prejudicial considerations. As always happens, dialogue smoothes out rough points and even more when they are unfounded.

Accordingly, there now begin to emerge a series of positive components of Argentina's bilateral relations with Brazil which were restricted or stifled during the most critical time of the polemics regarding the agreement on the Itaipu and Corpus projects.

It is significant that a morning Rio de Janeiro paper recently noted that "the limits of disagreements between Brazil and Argentina are those imposed by their common interests."

On making that evaluation the JORNAL DO BRASIL, in its editorial of 5 February 1978, noted that Brazil is the third largest purchaser and the third largest

supplier of Argentina. As a buyer it follows the Netherlands and Italy and precedes Japan, the United States, and West Germany. As a supplier Brazil comes behind the United States and West Germany but before Japan, France, and Britain.

In any case, the JORNAL DO BRASIL implied that "the rapprochement of the two countries in the economic field is inevitable," and therefore "political rapprochement is merely a question of time" and therefore of diplomatic efficiency. It added that the Itaipu-Corpus project should not "create insuperable barriers to the growing rapprochement of the two economies."

Furthermore, Brazil appears to have already achieved its most important goals in the Basin of the Plata River. It succeeded in having the Itaipu dam considered as legitimate by its neighbors, with the sole condition that the project not cause significant losses.

Agreement concerning the Corpus project is still and always possible when the advantages that the existence of a significant and profitable Corpus will have for the operation of the Itaipu project are observed.

There will certainly be disagreement regarding the flow level of waters of the Argentine-Paraguayan dam, but it is difficult to see that the matter will reach a dead end. The exchange of technical data also makes it possible to identify alternative formulas of agreement, some of which are already specified while others are under study or will inevitably emerge from the pursuit of the negotiations.

The time for the latter is furthermore becoming shorter because of the need to make specifications for the equipment to be assembled.

Within that context, centered on the demographic and industrial expansion that Itaipu will make possible as part of the traditional progress toward the west, the eyes of the Brazilian authorities are turning to other regions.

General Figueiredo emphasized in his comments concerning the aforementioned "the urgent need of occupying the Amazon River region before others do it" and of defining an appropriate demographic policy.

Brazil is concerned about its empty spaces. The country-continent is realizing its expansion at two simultaneous levels, one of them internal and the other extended in its foreign policy. One may doubt that "integration with a distinct quality is an adequate instrument to overcome the challenge of the largest unoccupied geographic area of the world but not the Brazilian decision to advance toward those regions.

The route of the trans-Amazon highway and the Cuiaba-Santarem road heralds that penetration with a distinct quality since, as is known, the trans-Amazon highway is interrupted by long uncrossable stretches or is invaded by the jungle. The policy of colonization attempted at its fringes also failed.

But these setbacks have not invalidated the general tendency to penetration in those latitudes, a policy for which Brazil has requested cooperation from its neighbors in the area: Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela, and the former Guyanas.

Since Brazilian policy is planned in the long run, it is possible to believe that toward the end of the century that country will have stable relations with all its neighbors, that is, with the whole of South America except Chile and Ecuador.

This makes it necessary for Brazil to consolidate the growth of its industrial apparatus and increase the volume of trade concentrated on the sale of manufactured items and the purchase of agricultural and mining raw materials.

The inclusion of new land at the same time makes it possible for Brazil to move toward an integrated economic system, taking advantage of its industrial take-off to establish an appropriate farming sector.

In addition, this consolidation of the role which Brazil has in the area is done without prejudice of its location at the threshold of the developing world and closer relations with Japan, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Britain, and the United States. One of the results of this offensive has been Brazil's nuclear agreement with West Germany and, in other cases, binational operations have been arranged which point to Brazil's influence in Africa.

Thus, expansion in the Basin of the Plata River is produced through the two-fold path of negotiation of pending problems and the improvement of other areas, which will be stressed in the next few years.

The true lesson to be deduced from these events is that the kingpin of Brazilian diplomacy consists in internal growth and in gradual attention to all the regions of its territory, wagering on the fact that the country-continent, thanks to its natural and demographic resources and buttressed by a sizable industrial apparatus, will realize the ideas of the manifest destiny to which all Brazilian geopoliticians refer.

2662

CSO: 3010

ARGENTINA

MARTINEZ DE HOZ DENIES THAT HE IS LEAVING POST

Buenos Aires LA PRENSA in Spanish 24 Feb 78 p 7

[Text] The Ministry of Economy yesterday issued a statement, the text of which follows: "In view of the news item that appeared yesterday in a morning paper to the effect that the minister of economy had informed his immediate collaborators of the possibility of acceding to a function of worldwide financial importance, as an executive authority of the International Monetary Fund, the minister of economy states that the report is totally inexact, in its details as well as its essence."

It was amplified later that, "Even if that or a similar possibility were to materialize, it is not his intention in the future to accept any international function or to depart from the country."

It was also stated in the report mentioned that the holder of the economic portfolio, Dr Jose Alfredo Martinez de Hoz, would be leaving his present functions in March 1979, upon the completion of the first cycle of the three-year, economic policy plan, a decision that would not be the result of any type of dissidence with the top authorities of the country but would, rather, coincide with a reorganization of the national cabinet.

It is believed, in relation to this, that by March 1979 the national cabinet would be composed of 14 ministries (8, presently), bringing about the division of the Ministry of Economy into its equivalents of Treasury and Finances, Transportation and Public Works, Agriculture and Livestock, and Commerce and Industry, by which the system applied between 1971 and 1973 would again be in effect.

11532
CSO: 3010

ARGENTINA

FINANCE MINISTRY RELEASES BUDGET DEFICIT DETAILS

Buenos Aires LA NACION in Spanish 24 Feb 78 p 9

[Article: "January Treasury Deficit Came to 62,687 Million Pesos"]

[Text] Treasury transactions during January resulted in a deficit of 62,687 million pesos. These are the figures cited in the regular monthly information bulletin issued by the Ministry of Finance which reported on activity recorded for last month as compared with the same month of last year.

It is to be noted that the deficit in question represents the difference between a total of 225,508 million pesos in income and 288,195 million in expenditures. Furthermore, a comparison of this deficit with that of January 1977 "expressed in constant values shows that the deficit has been reduced by 58 percent in real terms."

The 62,687-million-peso deficit was covered as follows: Central Bank transactions, 168,067 million pesos; Unified Current Account Fund, 100,000 million; cancellation of debts, 54 million; short-term transactions, 100 million; treasury fluctuations, 7,119 million; and government bonds [Bono Compensacion de Deudas] Doc. No. 797/77, 1,785 million.

Income and Expenditures

Analysis of the breakdown of income and expenditures in January in comparison with those of the same month in 1977 "expressed in current fiscal-year values" shows that income totaled 225,508 million pesos last month and 258,643 million in January 1977, or a reduction of 13 percent, distributed as follows: current receipts, 170,119 million pesos last month and 166,763 million in January 1977 (up 2 percent); capital income,

44,112 million and 39,466 million in January 1977 (up 12 percent); other income totaled 11,277 million versus 52,414 million in January 1977 (down 78 percent). Total expenditures amounted to 288,195 million pesos last month versus 407,090 million in January 1977, a drop of 29 percent. These expenditures were distributed as follows: current expenditures, 229,596 million pesos last January versus 285,993 million in January 1977 (down 19 percent); capital expenditures, 46,540 million versus 63,520 million (down 27 percent); other expenditures, 12,059 million last January and 57,577 million in January 1977 (down 79 percent). Thus the deficit amounts to 62,687 million pesos for January versus 148,446 million for the same month in 1977 (down 58 percent).

This shows that the reduction of the deficit "is the product of a 13-percent drop in total income accompanied by a 29-percent drop in total expenditures, both items measured in real terms."

Government Income

The report adds that a 2-percent rise in current receipts, in real terms with respect to the same period last year, was noted in the development of government income. Thus the current income-expenditure ratio, 41 percent in January 1977, came to 59 percent for the same period this year, which reflects "a big increase in the genuine financing of expenditures."

No difference in real terms in income from taxes was recorded between that of this January and January 1977. An 87-percent drop in export duties was noted, since the tax on credit payments was not collected, a tax which during the same period in 1977 amounted to 6,773 million (January 1978 values).

Note that by way of compensation for this an 87-percent increase in domestic tax revenues was recorded: 25 percent in value added taxes, 50 percent in import duties, and 13 percent in profit taxes.

In addition, this year 4,300 million and 12,989 million pesos (both figures in January 1978 values) in fuel taxes and tax adjustments respectively were collected as against no fiscal income from either item in January 1977.

The Finance Ministry bulletin notes that capital income showed an increase of 12 percent in real terms, which provided funds to cover 83 percent of the costs of financial services and amortization of the public debt, as compared with 59 percent coverage for the same period last year.

The reduction of expenditures in real terms is due, according to the report, to fewer current (down 19 percent), extra-budgetary (down 79 percent) and capital (down 27 percent) expenditures.

The report, which summarizes the Treasury's present condition, concludes that current expenditures included drops of 21 percent in real terms in interest payments on the national debt and 55 percent in transfers to finance current expenditures, since a 24-percent increase in operating costs was recorded with respect to the same period last year.

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CSO: 3010

ARGENTINA

LIENDO REPORTS TO PRESIDENT ON LABOR AGREEMENTS

Buenos Aires CLARIN in Spanish 16 Feb 78 p 7

[Article: "Liendo Reported to Videla About the Restructuring of Agreements"]

[Text] The minister of labor, Brig Gen Horacio Tomas Liendo, reported to the Argentine President about the restructuring of collective labor agreements. That ministry will conclude the updating of 60 agreements for public employees. It is considered that this is an important political step in the labor field, one which would put the trade union structure into effect. The criterion would not apply to the economic area.

The President of Argentina, Lt Gen Jorge Rafael Videla, yesterday [15 February 1978] received the report of the minister of labor, Brig Gen Horacio Tomas Liendo, on the labor situation, especially on the restructuring of the collective work agreements, according to an official source.

President Videla held various audiences in his office in Government House, receiving first the governor of Mendoza Province, Staff Brig (retired) Jorge Sixto Fernandez, who invited the President to attend the National Celebration of Vendimia to be held on 4 March 1978 in that province.

Subsequently, the secretary of state intelligence, Brig Gen Carlos Alberto Martinez, was received in the presidential office.

At noon the President received the minister of economy, Dr Jose Alfredo Martinez de Hoz, who resumed his official duties yesterday following a period of rest.

In the afternoon President Videla received the minister of labor, Brig Gen Horacio Tomas Liendo, who presented to him an extensive report on the labor situation and referred especially to the restructuring or updating of the collective labor agreements, three of which are near their expiration date, according to an official source.

What are involved are the agreements relating to the railroad workers, those of SEGBA [Greater Buenos Aires Electrical Services Company], and the telephone workers.

On the basis of what could be learned from sources close to the Ministry of Labor, in the first half of March 1978 the updating of some 60 agreements in the public sector will be concluded and the same endeavor will be initiated regarding the private sector, where labor agreements reportedly total 600.

The three above-mentioned agreements will not be the first to be restructured after the government, through Law No 21,476, arranged for the automatic extension of various provisions granting special privileges to public workers.

In November 1977 the government ordered by decree that the agreements relating to the postal workers be revized.

Trade union observers assign political significance to this restructuring endeavor, the most important among those made in the last few months, since what is involved in practice is the adoption of a criterion opposed in the economic area of government where an inclination in favor of agreements by firm and by sector has been in evidence.

The restructuring of the collective labor agreements by trade union is considered as a putting into effect of the bases of the trade union structure.

2662

CSO: 3010

ITAIPU TURBINE PROPOSALS TO BE ACCEPTED

Buenos Aires CLARIN in Spanish 14 Feb 78 p 7

[Article: "Proposals for Itaipu Turbines Approved"]

[Text] Simultaneously in Sao Paulo and Asuncion the proposals of three international consortiums interested in supplying the electromechanical equipment for the Brazilian-Paraguayan Itaipu hydroelectric dam will be received today.

The supply includes the turbines, the generators, and their respective accessories and, according to the information released by the binational entity responsible for the project, the total amount of the purchase is around U.S. \$800 million, now equivalent to 12.8 billion Brazilian cruzeiros.

Among this equipment are 18 generating units each capable of producing 700 megawatts of power. Among the consortiums involved in said project one is Brazilian, the Clem, headed by the Heavy Mechanical Complex. Another is headed by General Electric, and the third by Westinghouse and Hitachi.

The proposals will be studied in 60 days so that by mid-April 1978 a decision will be reached. According to versions of reports published in JORNAL DO BRASIL, the components for the project can be acquired from any of the suppliers and not from only one of them.

In this respect it is noted that in November 1977, when the invitation to bid was issued to suppliers, it was explained that the binational entity "reserves for itself the right to entrust the supply of the equipment to one or more consortiums according to its exclusive judgment." But it was also indicated that account would be taken of the degree of participation of national firms or of their technical systems besides considerations of price, financing, and demonstrated technical capacity.

The Brazilian newspaper stated that the Brazilian Association of Industrial Engineering considers that conditions are favorable for all the necessary equipment to be produced in Brazil with national firms being involved to a great extent.

The paper also noted that it was possible to include the converters of direct current which are necessary because half the generation of power at Itaipu will be in 50 cycles for Brazil and half in 60 cycles for Paraguayan territory.

The commercial director of the Itaipu binational entity said, the newspaper reported further, that financing is 100 percent secured for that part of the project which will be built with national resources.

As for the financing of the equipment purchased abroad, according to the same official, it will have to be made available by the countries of origin of the equipment to be supplied.

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CSO: 3010

ARGENTINA

PROJECT TO MEASURE GAMMA RAYS RESUMED

Buenos Aires LA NACION in Spanish 19 Feb 78 p 7

[Text] The Argentine Air Force, through the National Commission for Space Research, will resume this week the so-called EGANI program for measuring low-energy gamma radiation coming from celestial sources in the southern hemisphere. The program consists of the launching of enormous balloons, having a capacity of 11 million cubic feet, to reach heights of up to 40 kilometers.

The launchings will be made from the Reconquista Military Air Base, in Santa Fe, and will have the support of the institution's operational, regional air, and logistic commands and the supervision of experts from the National Center for Atmospheric Research (NCAR) of the United States.

This operation is the continuation of others begun in 1969 and continued until last year, with the exception of 1972 and 1975.

Characteristics

The flight equipment of each balloon is formed, from top to bottom, by the balloon itself, a parachute, and suspended from it a load of scientific instruments called remote sensors for making records, measurements, and determining established parameters.

There is an explosive connection between the parachute and balloon through which, by remote control, the parachute can be separated from the balloon to terminate the flight and begin the descent of the load. The position of the balloon is constantly followed by radar systems, and land patrols then pick up the load with its instruments.

These experiments make it possible to record electric and magnetic fields, storms, and solar influences that modify the physical characteristics of the ionized layers and the effects they produce on the transmission and propagation of electromagnetic waves.

11532
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ARGENTINA

TANK PRODUCTION REPORTEDLY BEGINS

Lima EL COMERCIO in Spanish 23 Feb 78 p 18

[Text] Paris, 22 Feb (AFP)--It was claimed here today by military experts that Argentina has apparently begun the mass production of the new TAM tank in the number necessary to equip at least two armored brigades.

The first mass-produced TAM (Tanque Argentino Mediano [Medium-sized Argentine Tank]) was delivered to the Argentine Army in December, under a production program that calls for 10 tanks a month, the sources said.

The goal set by the Argentine Army is 550 units.

That figure, however, includes 200 tanks and 350 Infantry Combat Vehicles (VCI [Vehiculos de Combate de Infanteria]), manufactured on the basis of the TAM chassis, according to figures disclosed here by the REVISTA INTERNACIONAL DE DEFENSA (RID).

That ratio could neither be confirmed nor denied by those sources.

They made it clear, however, that the figure of 200 tanks corresponds more or less to the complement of a tank regiment in an armored brigade of the Western type and that this is the number of VCI's required by mechanized infantry regiments included in such a brigade.

Argentina is the first Latin American country to have begun to manufacture tanks.

The TAM was conceived by the German enterprise Thyssen-Henschel, of Kassem, "at the request of the Argentine Ministry of Defense," according to the RID report.

The prototype of the TAM, apparently assembled in Argentina, was presented last July, and the delivery of what is believed here to have been the first mass-produced unit took place last 26 December.

The tank was delivered to the Argentine Army high command by the General Directorate of Military Manufactures.

ARGENTINA

IMO-1 MOBILE REACTOR IN USE AT EZEIZA

Buenos Aires LA NACION in Spanish 21 Feb 78 p 1-2a

[Text] The IMO-1 has its permanent spot in the Ezeiza Atomic Power Station which houses a high-capacity nuclear reactor. And during the 2 years it has been in operation many rural projects have been completed in Buenos Aires Province and along the coast for the benefit of agricultural and cattle-raising activities.

The National Atomic Energy Commission has with promissory financing developed a broad technological program for the practical application of high-level radiation in specific industrial sectors.

The IMO-1 mobile reactor is a product of research carried out by the Sources of Intensive Radiation Division which, in addition to promoting uses of nuclear power in the interior of the country, augments through its activity the comparable program for the Latin-American area.

The project, executed by engineers Celso Papadopoulos and Ruben Cancio and carried out under the direction of the latter, Hugo Mugliaroli and Aristobulo Gomez in collaboration with a large group of technicians, was begun in 1970 and was successfully completed 5 years later.

The reactor consists of a hot laboratory built onto a suitably adapted Mercedes Benz tractor and a semi. The structure is covered with an aluminum housing and the inside, which is thermally insulated, is divided into two compartments: one functions as a control room and workshop and provides access to the reactor while the other, the laboratory proper, contains a gamma reactor with mobile chamber and fixed emission source and a radio transmitter for communication with the central laboratories.

Radioactive sources of a conventional industrial type of cobalt 60 are mounted in holders located in the underside of the IMO-1, from which point they allow for adjustments in the geometry of the radiation field as needed.

Radiation in Action

Ionizing radiations produce physico-chemical and biological changes in the material to which they are subjected and are thus capable of initiating processes useful in the preservation of foodstuffs.

Radiopasteurization, radioinhibition and radiosterilization are some of the uses to which such radiation may already be put and adequate techniques for achieving certain relevant breakthroughs in the food-production industries are available.

There are pathogenic bacteria like salmonella, for example, that may be transmitted to humans through eggs, margarine, chickens and all sorts of fresh meat. Radiodisinfection destroys these bacteria without otherwise affecting the natural state of the product that may serve as a carrier.

Another major source of spoilage of natural foods is the activity of insects and parasites. Here too, ionizing radiations in small doses limit the proliferation of insects in a given location and destroy adult insects while simultaneously attacking larvae and eggs.

A concrete example will serve to illustrate this point. Small doses of radiation in trichina-infested pork prevent the larvae from reaching maturity, thus interrupting the biological cycle which generally ends in the human body.

Radiations also come into play in the usual processes of pasteurization limited to certain kinds of food, for example, in fish and shellfish, as much as trebling the normal duration of freshness. Hake, sole, prawns, and clams could in perfect condition reach markets where they until now could not be found.

In addition, radiation furnishes new possibilities to the food industry, providing in medium-sized or large doses oranges that can more easily be peeled and tenderized beef, merely two examples from a long list.

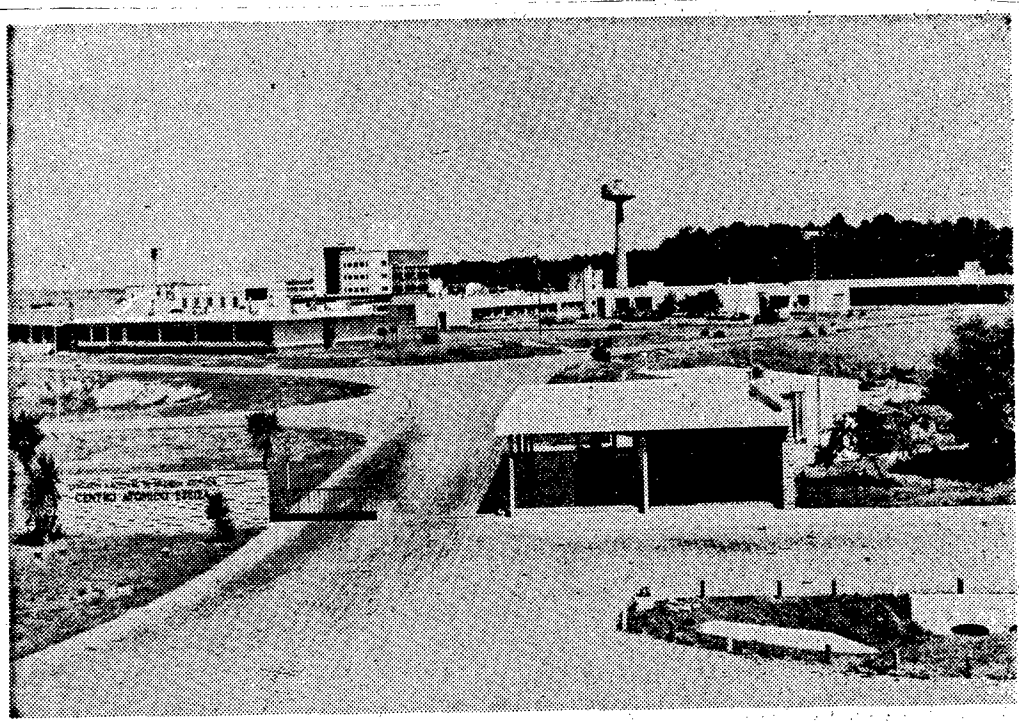
Projects Already Completed

According to the reports presented in their publications, the personnel of this specific sector of the atomic energy program

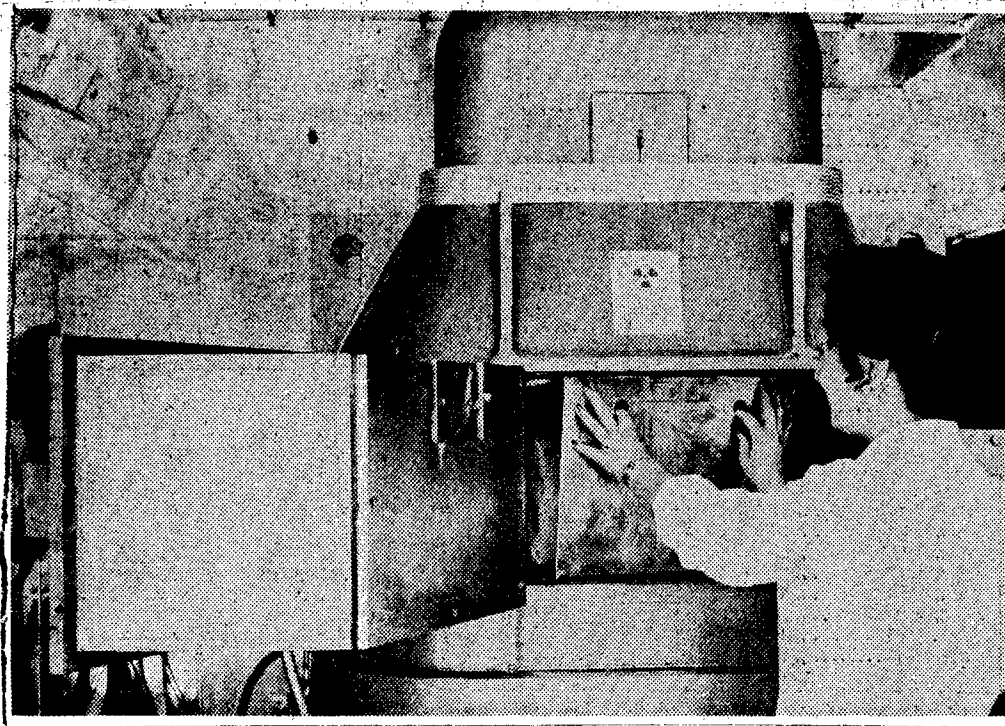
have completed various research projects. Among others, complete studies on radiopasteurization of hake, strawberries and lemons, radioinhibition of potato buds and radiodisinfection of wheat with satisfactory results. And, at the request of various industries, they are working on dried cattle blood, sweets and pastry flour as well as sterilization of foods in general and also on disease control.

Concrete Offer

The National Atomic Energy Commission is prepared to collaborate as a consulting agency in the solution of agricultural and cattle-raising problems which can be dealt with by the use of ionizing radiations, whether from the Ezeiza power station or with the mobile reactor if a transfer is necessary. All inquiries will be accepted at the main office: Avenida del Libertador 8250, Buenos Aires, 1429, Departamento de Fuentes Intensas de Radiacion.



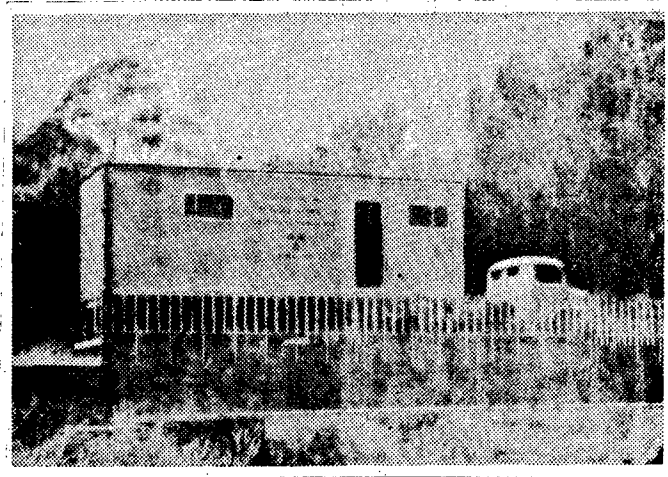
Panoramic view of Ezeiza Atomic Power Station.



Access to National Atomic Energy Commission IMO-1 radiation chamber.



Location of reactor in laboratory.



External view of mobile laboratory.

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CSO: 3010

ARGENTINA

MEAT PACKERS REACT TO RECENTLY APPROVED MEAT LAW

Buenos Aires LA PRENSA in Spanish 23 Feb 78 p 12

[Text] The Association of Meat Industries and CADIF (Argentine Meat-Packing Industry Board) have each issued statements on the recently approved meat law.

The former notes that the new law no doubt displays certain positive aspects, namely the "merit of appealing to production, industry and trade to set aside old conflicts and cooperate for the good of the country." Unlike earlier laws, the association states, the present one does not grant privileges or protection to any firm.

It furthermore points out that the cut in the cattle sales tax from 2.35 to 1 percent "is a positive measure, as is the funneling of funds collected from that source into promotion campaigns abroad." It then goes on to say that this will in the future provide from \$6 to 8 million a year to promote the sale of Argentine meat abroad.

Regarding another matter, it is of the opinion that "now is not the time to express grievances since, although like others consulted, it has not been heard in many areas. For example, meat production is an integrated process composed of inseparable sectors (production, trade and industry), none of which can nor should be subjected to the judgment and control of any of the others. However, this is established in significant provisions of the law." It then notes that "the constitution of executive boards and other points are not calculated to evoke the applause of industrialists either."

Meat-Packing Industry

CADIF's statement describes "the law as generally acceptable."

Nevertheless, CADIF objects to "the discriminatory nature of some of its measures, like those that deal with the functions of the organization, which conditionally distinguish between those pertaining to promotion, applicable to the production sector, and auditing or inspection, applicable to the industry and trade sector."

With regard to the objection expressed by one production sector to the effect that it is not proper for the meat-packing industry to have a representative on the executive committee of the National Meat Board, CADIF pointed out that the so-called "sensible meat law" had already assigned a representative to the industry.

Farther on, CADIF states that it shares belief in the criterion that efficiency in the management of plants must be the valid parameter in the development of the meat-packing industry, although it finds it strange that there are sectors that need and demand the imposition of a tax in order to manage an industry."

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CSO: 3010

ARGENTINA

WORLD BANK GRANTS LOAN FOR GRAIN STORAGE

Buenos Aires LA NACION in Spanish 22 Feb 78 p 1

/Text/ The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) has granted a credit of \$105 million to finance a program for increasing the storage capacity for cereals, according to plans prescribed by the National Grain Board.

The program referred to, which includes corresponding national counterpart funding, provides for the construction of 20 elevators of 100,000 tons each in the country's major productive regions.

As pointed out in the announcement made yesterday by the Ministry of Economy, the timing of the World Bank contribution coincides with the necessities facing the Republic for the storage of grains and meets a large part of such needs, concomitant to the working plans now in progress with the direct intervention of the Secretariat of Transportation and Public Works, through the National Directorate for the Construction of Grain Elevators.

It is also emphasized that the program in question is complemented by the financing of railway improvements to facilitate the transportation of crops to the principal shipping ports for export.

This financing also provides for a study on the degree to which access to the port of Bahia Blanca should be deepened.

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CSO: 3010

ARGENTINA

AGRICULTURE HEAD TALKS ON GRAIN CROPS, SILOS, MEAT LAW

Buenos Aires LA NACION in Spanish 21 Feb 78 p 5

[Excerpt] Resistencia--"On 5 March, from Leones, we are going to formulate the policy for the 1978-1979 season, directed toward increasing all crops contributing to the harvesting of high-grade products," said the head of the national Secretariat of Agriculture and Livestock, Dr Mario Cadenas Madariaga, following the ceremony for the opening of envelopes held at Government House for the adjudication of government lands in the western part of Chaco Province.

He pointed out, "As nothing is permanent or static, neither is our policy. It is dynamic and adjusts and conforms to each circumstance." He said, in respect to the formulation of agricultural policy for 1977-1978, that we shall make appreciable adjustments, and we hope to have a better response from the producer, because, among other reasons, international prices are more stimulating.

He then said that the Argentine Republic is exporting wheat at \$120, while the average for the previous season was \$95.

Wheat Agreement

Asked whether there might be some news by March concerning the talks abroad on the wheat agreement, he stated that this would be premature, because the international conference in Geneva has a time limit extending to the end of March, and as the differences in views between the exporting and importing countries are many, he emphasized, "We believe 5 March is too early a date for arriving at definitive conclusions."

He then announced that, "There is essential agreement between importers and exporters to the effect that we should build up large reserves with the surpluses in production during periods of abundance in order to compensate for cycles of low production."

The differences, fundamentally, between exporters and the Economic Community revolve around prices, maximum prices in particular. The Economic Community, Cadenas Madariaga explained, hopes to be guaranteed a maximum price, because it fears the risk that difficulties will again appear, as in 1971, when wheat reached prices of up to \$300 a ton.

Silos

As regards the government's policy on silos, he said that this will be maintained, to operate in two directions. In the first place, there are the silos, 20 in number, of 100,000 tons each, whose financing by the World Bank has practically been consummated.

"There is another bidding in process that will have more immediate results. This has to do with the construction of four 100,000-ton silos, which we hope to put up for bidding in 2 months, with more rapid financing and construction."

Dr Cadenas Madariaga pointed out to the journalists that, "We believe a large part of the reduction in the shortfall in tonnage must be undertaken by private initiative, and we believe that two guarantees must be given if this is to be done:

"1 -- The investments of private initiative in regard to silos must be profitable. This is a state guarantee and, in respect to private activity, it will not be carried out under conditions of unfair competition. Also,

"2 -- We believe it necessary to open up the opportunities for the construction of silos to all forms of capital, both Argentine and foreign.

"These two aspects are extremely important," he said, "and it is to them that are directed the bill for the amendment of the grain law and the guarantees obtained in that law in respect to the investments of private capital."

Meat Law

Questioned on reports that had appeared to the effect that the meat law had stirred up differences of opinion, he said, "I believe that what has not been made clear in the public discussion is that there has been wide agreement on many of its aspects."

He gave as an example the transfer of the marketing fund, which means the refund to the producer of about \$14 million. There is also wide agreement on the guarantees that the new law grants for the establishment of an industrial plant and marketing facilities.

"In consequence," he stated in conclusion, "the observations of the various organizations are related to the number of members of the board of directors and support for the CAP [Argentine Corporation of Meat Producers]. It is important to mention that the official sector," he went on to say, "has six representatives, and the private sector four. Customarily, there were five and five. The difference is important, but not overly so. Additionally, the Secretariat of Agriculture has three representatives. It will nominate the chairman, vice chairman, and a director, with men closely connected with agricultural and livestock production."

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CSO: 3010

ARGENTINA

BRIEFS

UNDERSECRETARIAT CHANGES NAME--The Undersecretariat of Environmental Planning in the Secretariat of State of Transportation and Public Works will be called the Undersecretariat of Environmental Regulation, according to the Executive Branch's Decree 330. It is maintained in the justifications given that "the expression 'environmental planning' is just one of the phases of the combination of possible actions directed toward the preservation, improvement, and restoration of the environment." It is added that "given the establishment of the Ministry of Planning, there arises the consequent necessity of adapting the designation of the existing environmental agency to the new institutional situation, since," it explains, "its action extends to other phases in which specific projects are set forth for concrete operations of the preservative and corrective type in the field of environmental problems."

[Text] [Buenos Aires LA NACION in Spanish 22 Feb 78 p 10] 11532

CSO: 3010

BRAZIL

OPPOSITION ANALYZED BY INTELLECTUALS

Sao Paulo FOLHA DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 26 Feb 78 pp 10-12

[Debate coordinated by Samuel Wainer: "The Ways of the Opposition Forces in Brazil"]

[Text] Opposition Debating

A panoramic view of the Brazilian opposition forces, analyzed by a group of political and social scientists as well as journalists was the topic of the Third Conference at FOLHA which earlier had already taken up the problems of consumption and violence.

It rarely ever happens that a group of intellectuals of such high standing meets to debate so important a problem as the problem of the ways of the opposition forces in Brazil at this moment of transition and expectations.

Participants

Professor Dalmo Dallari, jurist, professor at the USP [Sao Paulo University], and chairman of the justice and peace commission of the Sao Paulo Archdiocese.

Professor Fernando Henrique Cardoso, sociologist, writer, director of the CEBRAP [Brazilian Analysis and Planning Center].

Professor Antonio Candido Melo e Souza, writer, social scientist, and USP professor.

Journalist Mino Carta, editor of the magazine ISTO E.

Professor Plinio de Arruda Sampaio, professor at PUC-SP [Sao Paulo Pontifical Catholic University] and former federal deputy.

Journalist Alberto Dines, director of the FOLHA branch in Rio.

Professor Tito Costa, jurist and politician, prefect of Sao Bernardo do Campo, elected by the MDB [Brazilian Democratic Movement].

into that heterogeneity of attitudes because there is in truth no well-defined opposition bench whereas we do indeed have individuals who act in isolation. At certain moments you get the impression that there are cohesive and homogeneous groups; but then you find out right away that you cannot even recognize that here. Now, as I see it, what we find here is the existence of an institutionalized opposition and an informal opposition.

Informal Opposition Is Strongest

FSP: Informal opposition? Where does it come from and what does it look like?

DD: Yes, my conclusion is objective. I think that this informal opposition, the opposition that is not officially recognized as such, is the one that really exists in Brazil. It is the one that really exerts influence and it is the one that has most insistently fought with good results to obtain that goal which influences the government so that the possibility of political options might be created. Within that perspective I would say that I really completely agree on that point with Fernando Henrique: the opposition has been growing in Brazil.

FSP: Can you give us some practical examples?

DD: As I see it, the "April Package" extraordinarily stimulated the growth of the opposition. And why? Because many conservative sectors--sectors which still believed in the good intentions of the ruling group--were profoundly disappointed and arrived at the conclusion that what really exists here is the exercise of power by the government. This is an arbitrary revision of the rules that guarantee the permanence of the dominant group. The truth however is that this line of argument--to the effect that it is necessary to maintain a strong group, to maintain cohesion in power in order to achieve something really profound for the benefit of the public--is really no longer accepted by considerable population segments.

Opposition Will Have to Grow Even More

FSP: Could you give us some examples of some public opinion segment that moved further away from the original foundations of the movement of 64?

DD: I recall, in this case, the position of the economic forces, the term here being understood as the capitalist group--because, in truth, these forces did support the movement of 64. As I see it, they supported the movement of 64 because they felt themselves to be threatened. But in recent years, due to a series of circumstances, it has turned out that these forces really were on the sidelines when it came to the decision-making process and, for that reason, they began to react and to adopt a clear opposition attitude. I consider it important to find the reasons why a social group or an entity should act as an opposition force because that would fundamentally influence the future of the opposition, the future makeup of the government,

Professor Jose Alvaro Moises, political scientist, director of CEDEC (Contemporary Culture Study Center).

Journalist Carlos Castelo Branco, commentator for JORNAL DO BRASIL and president of the journalist union in Brasilia.

Professor Febus Gikovate, physician, pioneer of the Socialist Party in Brazil.

Former minister Severo Fagundes Gomes, businessman, sociologist, former minister of agriculture and, later, former minister of industry and commerce; attended debate as observer.

"The April Package Even Disappointed the Conservatives"

FSP [FOLHA DE SAO PAULO]: Professor Dalmo Dallari, your recent reports on the number of Brazilian expatriates had great repercussions throughout the country. But the so-called Brazilian opposition did not assume any special position. Why?

Dalmo Dallari: I would first of all like to say that I am basically in agreement with Fernando Henrique. I would like however to add that I think it is necessary for us at last to say what the opposition is, whether it exists, what its role is, and what we seek through an opposition, what the function of an opposition is.

FSP: And how do you view the opposition within this confused welter of proposals?

DD [Dalmo Dallari]: I have always said that there is a fundamental difference between the opposition when there is a possibility of coming to power, between the opposition as a political option and the opposition when you fight so that you may have that option, when you fight so that you may have this possibility of getting to power. As I see it, we do not yet have that possibility of coming to power in Brazil. That leaves us with the first assumption--the assumption of the opposition as an instrument for the observation of this possibility of coming to power. In this respect we could also try to find out whether there is indeed an opposition and where that opposition is.

FSP: And where the MDB comes into the picture?

DD: There are those who have said that the MDB is the opposition or, according to an expression which is being used with a certain degree of frequency by deputy Ulisses Guimaraes, the MDB is the synthesis of opposition forces. But, as I see it, this is not a sufficient answer especially as we find out that the MDB, at certain moments, in certain sectors, is characterized as an opposition force. This happens to the extent that it fights for the possibility to exert influence. In other sectors, however, under other circumstances, it fails completely as an opposition force. One might also ask oneself whether this opposition is in parliament. But here again we run

the future political options. It may perhaps seem Machiavellian--because I am a great admirer of Machiavelli--to say that, at this moment, it is better not to look too much into the motives as to why each group is in the opposition.

FSP: But is your conclusion optimistic with regard to the behavior of the opposition forces?

DD: I see that the opposition forces really have been growing. In my view, there are various reasons which determine the behavior of the different opposition groups. But, at any rate, the one fact that seems undeniable to me is that, in effect, the opposition has been growing and this growth also acts as a stimulus for the opposition forces to become more and more ostensible. Thus you even have opposition groups which are afraid to appear as such; but as new groups, new persons, new attitudes emerge, demonstrating that the danger of being in the opposition is relatively minor, that opposition should grow more and more.

"It Is Necessary To Broaden the Opposition Front in Political Terms"

Fernando Henrique Cardoso: The balance of opposition forces is more than opportune and the statement of their prospects is urgent. Why? Because the opposition forces have grown and are somewhat paralyzed in spite of all that.

FSP: How come? How can you explain this contradiction?

FHC [Fernando Henrique Cardoso]: Today, the MDB--which is being characterized as a "federation of opposition forces"--is overflowing. On the one hand, the fight against arbitrary action has for quite some time been inspired by sectors of society which have nothing to do with political parties; on the other hand, a kind of "new dissidence" has taken shape in Brazil, as during the time of republic; in ARENA [National Renewal Alliance] we have the candidacy of Magalhaes Pinto and the support which he is getting from men such as former minister Severo Gomes provided an election policy slant to the critical positions of ARENA politicians such as Senator Vilella who always criticized authoritarianism.

FSP: How should these tendencies be led?

FHC: If that is true--and it seems difficult to me to deny the importance of opposition forces outside the parties and of ARENA dissidence in the fight against the emergency regime--then the immediate political issue will be to broaden the opposition front in political terms.

FSP: How?

FHC: It would be difficult to visualize that a front--as broad as the one mentioned--could be expressed in a single party. But the MDB is a broad movement. It can and must provide room for diverse tendencies. On the condition, of course, that the individuality of each one of the main

tendencies will not be lost within the MDB confederation. I am not talking here only about elections because during those elections it would be difficult to accomodate the dissidence of officialdom. But perhaps an anti-authoritarian political front would be viable; it would be made up on the basis of the MDB leadership, without confining itself to the MDB. If the MDB were not to propose a broad but firm democratic opposition policy, in action, then it would be overwhelmed on the "left" and on the "right." I deliberately put these terms within quotation marks because they do not correspond to the actual situation; in terms of democratic possibilities, it is difficult to say that Senator Magalhaes Pinto today is on the right; and I would certainly not say that about Chagas Freitas although it does apply to many of the moderates in the MDB.

Risk of Center-Left Builders

FSP: But what would be the real objectives of this antiauthoritarian policy?

FHC: It is obvious that the broadening of this front would be accomplished in order to obtain the number one objective of the opposition forces: a government of laws, amnesty, a Constituent [Assembly], and fundamental liberties. However, this already is no longer enough for a significant segment of the opposition forces. It would be necessary not only to strip the mystery away from the current political game and restore decency and semantics (suffice it to say that the monarchic choice of the president would--if we are to believe certain commentators--have fallen on a general--a candidate who would be of the "center-left") but also to propose something new.

FSP: And what do the people think of all that?

FHC: I think that the majority of the population is tired of this farce. All this talk about ARENA conventions, about the selection of candidates for the office of state governor, about the bionic [candidates], etc., has nauseated men of good faith. I also think that you have to call a spade a spade. I am in favor, without subterfuges, of a political program for Brazil which would promote more egalitarian policies and which would guarantee major popular participation in policy decisions and supervision. This would be on a broad basis, not only--although I would start from that--through direct elections and the internal democratization of the parties but also through public discussion of national issues. I am also in favor of a policy promoting national interests, a policy which would not confuse the nation with the state and which would assign preeminence to the popular interests in the evaluation of national policy. From this angle alone would we then complete the discussion on economic dependence and the strengthening of the nation-state.

FSP: But, talking objectively, Fernando Henrique, what can the MDB do, now that you think that it is necessary to call a spade a spade?

FHC: I think that this is the moment, more than ever before, for the popular and substantively democratic tendencies in the MDB to take the step necessary so that--without breaking up the grand front of political opposition to the emergency system--they may gain the steady support of the wage-earner strata in the broadest sense. Either the political opposition forces get together with society's grass-roots movements or their parliamentary endeavor for reconstitutionalization will run the risk of being isolated and will be out-flanked by "dialogues," "safeguards," and other expedients which the architects of the regime's "center-left" policy are preparing.

Fight for Society's Democratization

FSP: You have made a serious charge. Based on what?

FHC: I think that it is no longer enough for large opposition sectors to denounce social injustices and to call for higher wages. It would be necessary for the opposition in practice to get together in running the campaigns which society's grass-roots, especially the young people and the people on the sidelines, are beginning to launch against the previously mentioned injustices and in support of better living conditions. I am not talking here only about movements among low-income segments. The middle class movements must also be included.

FSP: And how can we establish that link?

FHC: I have emphasized this many times and I will do so again: this is not only a matter of proposing the regime's democratization; it is necessary to fight for the democratization of society. And this process is all-encompassing: it ranges from family relationships and the schools all the way to work and job relationships. A modern party and an opposition that is up to the Brazilian challenge must at least begin to implement these principles which, by the way, are a component part of advanced contemporary democracies.

FSP: And how do you see the road to that ideal formula?

FHC: The construction of a more just social and economic order will be possible only if we are capable of simultaneously creating a political movement that will be radically democratic and that can cast the yearning for liberty in the practical terms of building a more egalitarian economic system and a more just social order. In the contemporary world, every radically democratic opposition points to the horizon represented by the formation of more egalitarian and participatory societies. I think that it is more than just high time for the Brazilian democratic opposition forces to take up this contemporary challenge which they face.

FSP: Thinking is one thing--doing is something else. Do you think that Brazilian opposition forces are already ripe for this challenge?

FHC: It would be insane to imagine that the grand opposition front, which is taking shape now, could, in overall terms, be guided by the above-mentioned ideals. It is shaping up in order to propose the rearrangement of the whole house. But the quality of that front will shoot up only if it is possible, within it, to indicate the individual tendencies and to point out ways that will not be restricted to the immediate future. The blend of imperative requirements to be combined and the more long-range opposition horizon is the thing that distinguishes opportunism or pure utopianism from political truth. And this is what challenges the commitment and imagination of all of us.

"We Cannot Entertain the Illusion that This Regime Will Have To Open Up"

FSP: A pioneer of the Socialist Party in Brazil, a professor and a thinking man, Professor Antonio Candido Melo e Souza is an example of the militant intellectual who is in favor of liberty and new ideas. Let us listen to him with the respect he deserves from us.

Antonio Candido: In order conveniently to spell out an opposition attitude and policy in Brazil I think that the following is fundamental: one must not entertain any excessive illusions as to the possibility that this regime would "open up"; instead, we must ceaselessly fight for the "opening." Perhaps an effective opening will be impossible without those quotation marks because that would be the denial of the regime. As a matter of fact, if that were to happen, it would, at the utmost, have to yield to something else and that is something it would not allow and would not do readily. This is why what it can do now is to try to get it to open up--as it has done on various occasions--in accordance with the tactical requirements. Hence the need for fighting, for trying to change it, so that the opening will have more of a chance to come from the outside rather than from the inside, even if the regime may try to give an impression as to the contrary.

FSP: And what is the best attitude to adopt in this case?

AC [Antonio Candido]: I think that the attitude of waiting for something and receiving something is very bad; that attitude can go so far as to express appreciation for benefits supposedly received. What we need to do now is to step up the pressure that will force the regime to yield on the necessary points. What we need to do is to demand rights that have been denied.

FSP: And how would we identify those pressures?

AC: That "opening" perhaps--used in quotation marks--which is being proclaimed at this moment derives from the pressures coming from some sectors of the ruling classes. Perhaps these sectors do not feel very much at home in the current situation, due to the high cost of money, the tyranny of the banks, the government restrictions, etc. When they talk about liberty, these sectors of the bourgeoisie in reality want economic relief so that they would have a freer hand. Knowing that this requires a certain political relief, they exert pressure in the sense of the "opening." This allows the liberals

and the oppositionists in general a larger volume of manifestations in support of political and juridical liberties, in support of the government of laws, etc.

FSP: But was there, quite undeniably, a relative relaxation of tensions in the country?

AC: That is true but I do not believe that this outline or, better still, this announcement of an "opening" is the fruit of the good will of one or the other men in power, although one or the other of the men in power could have a sincere inclination to "open things up." The present administration has been much less drastic than the earlier ones; but I believe that this is due above all to factors outside of it, such as those mentioned earlier. And there is also a lack of necessity for greater toughness, for more severe restrictions on liberty, due to the elimination of the most aggressive forms of opposition.

The Important Thing Is To Rally the Forces

FSP: Do these conditions presuppose that the opposition forces will act in a united fashion or in different ways?

AC: One question of interest here is the distinction between the types of opposition. At this moment, there should prevail a tendency toward reconciliation, toward the attenuation of differences among those forces. The important thing is to put those forces together. But that does not prevent the differences from being profound, differences which must be recorded, and that also applies to those that can act clearly and freely within a possible future democratic setup. At this moment, the opening is an aspiration of various groups in society which are exerting pressure in various ways and for different reasons, in their own favor. This is a normal thing in the life of societies. But it is possible that many groups, which now demand this, will step back once it produces its natural fruits and will switch to asking for things to be closed down again. The conservatives and even the opposition liberals want an opening without any changes in the structure. An opening which will keep the social system unchanged. Now, that would be an opening that would maintain the permanent possibility for new repressive regimes, destined to guarantee and preserve the essence of the capitalist system. The socialists, who also make up the opposition, see things differently. Without a doubt, they are interested in closing ranks in the struggle for the opening because the restoration of the government of laws presents infinitely better possibilities for fighting for social justice and for the search for an egalitarian society, not based on privilege and economic oppression. But their target is the effective elimination of inequality and therefore the natural elimination of the prevailing social and economic systems.

Avoiding the Errors of 1944 and 1945

FSP: Do you not think that this position could possibly create difficulties in the general oppositions movements, including the Catholic Church?

AC: I think not. As far as the practical aspects of the opposition's task are concerned, I--as a socialist--distinguish two levels: a general level and a particular level. On the general plane, I accept the position of reconciliation among the opposition forces at this moment in order to form "movements" and "demands" for the basic principles. By this I mean that the liberals and the Catholics will play a decisive role. As far as the Catholics are concerned, I think that their function is of major importance because I think that the biggest political event in our time was Vatican II which defined a new form of participation in the struggle for the humanization of man.

FSP: And what about the adversary--do you think that he will allow himself to be taken by surprise so easily?

AC: No, nothing of the sort. I think that the considerations entertained with respect to the adversary against whom we are fighting are quite weighty: a regime which holds all possible forces in its hands and which it would be useless to try to confront on that ground. With regard to the particular aspect here, I am thinking of the establishment of a future socialist party which would above all be a task of the socialists. This is why I said that it is necessary to distinguish among the opposition patterns. But I entirely agree that one cannot think in terms of an organization of the classical type in view of the new conditions which were emphasized above all by Fernando Henrique. I would like to recall that Alberto Dines' fear--with regard to the possible failure of very broad reconciliations--can be compensated by another type of reasoning: frequently, when such composite opposition forces take shape, made up as they are by so widely differing elements as now--this can be the signal for great events, as we saw in the case of the New State, in 1944 and 1945.

FSP: Historically, there were some errors in the interpretation of Getulio's downfall in 1945. Do you think that a repetition of these errors is possible?

AC: To talk about that, I would like to go back to the idea presented by Fernando Henrique, to the effect that we must think about future party organizations in a new way. After the "closing" of the New State, the "opening" showed that the political bases had changed and that party formulas would no longer do. We socialists and the people of the left in general must not repeat the error of 1945 when--carried away by the force of opposition to the dictator--we failed to detect the importance of the leader-oriented labor movement which formed in his shadow. And we remained half blind in the face of the eventual possibilities of defining a left that would be less academic than ours was.

"The Brazilians Around This Table Are a Privileged Minority"

FSP: Mino Carta, a journalist and painter, is however above all an idealist. Mino does not disdain the fighting position from which he can defend his aspirations for social justice. He will analyze the opposition or the Brazilian opposition forces, rather, mostly from this aspect.

Mino Carta: The people here are telling us about the dissatisfaction and dreams of the Brazilians; but it would be a good thing also to say that the Brazilians gathered around this table belong to a privileged minority. I am trying to say that there is a rather big difference between our pretensions and the frightful shortages of the poor majority. We run the risk of slipping into empty philosophy, while many Brazilians continue to die of hunger. We talk of a return of the government of laws, of democratic normalization, etc., but it is obvious that there is no democracy without a more just social order.

FSP: But it seems that lately there has been certain progress in the area of the workers which would permit a certain degree of optimism.

MC [Mino Carta]: Yes, on that point I agree with Dr. Febus with regard to the fact that one extremely important phenomenon--perhaps the most important one at this moment--is the rise of some labor union leaders, young leaders, who are surprisingly active and up to date and who at the same time are removed from official [government] control and patronage. These people are closer to the atavistic problems than we are and could tomorrow be very persuasive when they present their demands. As far as the representatives of the other segments of society are concerned--who have come out against arbitrary procedures--some of them are old members of the opposition while others are rather recent members.

FSP: And where does that put you now?

We Never Had Democracy In This Country

MC: Let us say that there was an immanent opposition and a contingent opposition. I would put myself in the former. That is the position of a person who does not believe in the pretended liberalism of the past, nor in the Vargas-style populism, while at the same time he condemns the post-1964 authoritarianism. People know that we never had democracy in this country, except perhaps something vaguely simulating democracy. At times we did have the formal exercise of democracy--but basically all of this was nothing more than a decoy.

FSP: And where are the contingent opposition members to be placed?

MC: The contingent opposition members are those who, in 1964, supported the ouster of Jango; at the time of the so-called "miracle," they had their days of wine and roses and now they are in the opposition because they feel pushed to the sidelines or because they feel affected in what Delfim Neto calls "the most sensitive part of the human body," that is to say, their pocket books. Of course, this is a rather simplistic division but what I am trying to say is that it is much more difficult to visualize an efficient and lasting alliance between those who always were bothered by the absence of true democracy and those who just yesterday discovered their democratic vocation. Better late than never, of course, but it would be a good idea

to distrust the authenticity--if I may say so--of those democrats. Of course, it is opportune today for them to get together sometimes; however, I do not like the expression "confederation of opposition forces," because it leads us to assume an alliance and I think that each group should act in its own area.

FSP: But do you think that the democratic groups are already consolidated?

MC: The democratic aspiration is the common denominator. But people do not even know whether this aspiration corresponds to a profound feeling or whether it is just a momentary resentment, in other words, some kind of image that comes up at the instant when each of them must define their democracy. I think that the majority of those who today protest against the authoritarian regime and who belong to the ruling classes would be prepared to work out an understanding within a--let us say--traditional situation. I am talking about those here who broke the 1964 agreement with the military movement: businessmen, lawyers, the owners of some newspapers, representatives of various groups and categories within the middle class; tomorrow they would be ready, I believe, to reinterpret the old story after they have gotten satisfaction on a few points. Just a little bit of retouching and the show goes on.

FSP: But there are many people who believed in the relaxation of tensions and who had no difficulty in going along with Geisel.

MC: The Geisel administration took over, promising a relaxation of tensions. I believe that the government did make good on its promise. The country today is much less tense than it was 4 years ago. The idea of a relaxation of tensions, I suppose, must have been the strongest factor in convincing Severo Gomes to join the Geisel administration. Relaxation did not come just by chance, which is quite obvious; nor was it by chance that we gathered here to discuss these issues with the kind of frankness that we would not have dared to display even a year ago.

"April Package" Could Backfire

FSP: But how does the "April package" fit into this relaxation of tensions?

MC: The "April package" likewise did not come about by chance, in the sense that it was the administration that invented it so as to be able to guarantee the takeover by Geisel's successor. But the "April package" is rather naive; it could backfire. The "April package" does not guarantee victory for ARENA during the coming parliamentary elections in November. And there is the rub. The November elections will determine all events in 1978. They will soothe the worries about the selection of future governors. This time it is not a matter of voting for those who are most loyal to the revolution or for intimate friends. This time we will have to go after the "good vote" because each future governor will have to be the big election chief for ARENA in a race where the government seeks to get popular approval for its democratization plans and for the choice of General Figueiredo as Geisel's heir.

FSP: But if the "April package" were to turn into a kind of sorcerer's apprentice, what do you expect the government to do in order to neutralize its negative effects?

MC: One does not have to be too well informed to realize that the administration is seeking an antidote in order to counterbalance the effects of the "April package." And this antidote is represented by reforms. They will be announced prior to November and they will be all the more generous, the more the administration feels itself to be under pressure and the greater is its preoccupation with the November results, when the MDB could win a majority in the chamber and elect senators in key states of the federation. All of this seems to me to be extremely interesting because it is in line with a movement that keeps growing from the bottom to the top.

FSP: But is there a probable maneuver aimed at doing away with the two-party system and thus diluting the opposition's victory?

MC: I am not impressed by the debate over the formation of future parties. A lot of noise is being made about this. All Brazilians, who get enough to eat, both politicians and intellectuals, representatives of the current situation or of the opposition forces, are thinking precisely in terms of imposing models from the top down. On the other hand, I was impressed by the fact that Senator Petronio Portela made it a point to receive Lula. It is possible that he hopes to persuade him. He must also realize that Lula is not St. Francis of Assisi, thank God. Lula is a good politician, and astute politician. Thank God. It is a good thing to realize that a portion of the future is in the hands of the workers--a much bigger portion, I believe, than the one imagined by gentlemen of the past. Brazil is an industrial country and is in eighth place in the capitalist world in terms of economic power. Those who contributed to that through their work carry decisive weight on the scales. Perhaps they have not yet realized that fully but they will.

"Ignorance on What Is Happening Makes Opening Difficult"

FSP: Plinio has been away from the country for so many years that his perspective must be very personal. In view of what you have heard so far, what do you think of the opposition among us?

Plinio Arruda Sampaio: I agree that there is a growing feeling of opposition in the country. That means that there is dissatisfaction which is not at all well defined in many sectors but which is spelled out in others. This is what I would call the country's general situation. And the Brazilian who, so to speak, lived in an atmosphere of optimism, going through a certain period of euphoria as he watched from the outside, returns in order to find himself again reserved, with a slight feeling that things are not going very well here. And this is more or less widespread.

FSP: Are these the observations you personally collected in the field?

PAS [Plinio Arruda Sampaio]: Yes. After I returned, I was able to observe over these past 2 years that you have to talk, not in terms of opposition, but in terms of oppositions [opposition forces]. We have various oppositions. The oppositions always presuppose two topics. An agent, in other words, somebody who opposes something--but whom is he opposed to? Then, on the other hand, we have a big opposition to the regime of emergency, arbitrary action, and authoritarian procedure. And here I would say that people, in almost all strata of Brazilian society, encounter groups that recently came out against the state of emergency.

FSP: Are these groups thinly scattered or are they unified?

PAS: I would say that the opposition to the state of emergency is already something like a common point. But there are other forces which are also in the opposition. The students are opposed to the state of emergency but they also oppose the social situation, the economic situation, and the government's economic policy. We have opposition from the workers, opposition which, as Fernando noted, is beginning to make itself felt--although in terms of a new content, today. Though they may be sensitive to the government of laws, they carry more power in terms of demands. And then of course you have the opposition of the Church. The Church's opposition is not directed merely against a process of replacing those in power but it is also directed against the disregard of human rights. The Church is profoundly committed, for example, to the problem of land ownership. This is an extremely sensitive situation.

Danger of Diluting Opposition

FSP: But how do these opposition forces describe themselves?

PAS: Both ways have already been stated here, one by Fernando and the other by Antonio Candido. One of them is the way of nondifferentiation. In the opposition to the emergency-state system, there is a series of nondifferentiations and associates today need not necessarily be associates tomorrow. But Fernando also said that there is a certain individuality in the opposition, in other words, the opposition forces are individualized, they move toward their more specific objectives. Now, nondifferentiation is an advantage, undoubtedly, because it increases the strength and concentrates the point of attack. But on the other hand, it also dilutes the opposition. On the other hand, it causes the opposition to be a little bit at the whim of a dynamics which it does not control.

FSP: Could you give us some objective examples?

PAS: When you state the problem of the opening and of our expectations regarding that opening, you are saying something else; you are saying that the opposition is charging a way in terms of a dynamics which it does not impose. We saw that very clearly last year. We say the opposition grows, to a certain extent, and almost go out into the streets. But suddenly, the opposition stopped. How indeed was the opposition diluted just in response to a nod, as a result of a "status quo" maneuver, an offer of a political deal!

FSP: Whose fault is that? The opposition's naiveness or its unpreparedness?

PAS: Let me give you some examples: the opposition has been growing last year but, at the end of the year, the opposition faded. In other words, the drama of the Brazilian opposition is this: on the one hand it needs to remain really undifferentiated in order to gather heterogeneous forces. But on the other hand, as it maintains that heterogeneity, various groups do not feel very much inspired to participate more effectively in the opposition and that would be one point in favor of individualization. Up to what point would a certain individualization within the opposition, up to what point would a definition of tendencies not help strengthen the opposition? The problem is how to attain this; this is a difficult problem, really difficult.

Brazilians Are Beginning Not To Recognize Each Other Any More

FSP: In that case, what should be done: stop halfway along the road?

PAS: I get the impression that one of the things that is making a major opening difficult, one of the things that makes normalization of the country's life difficult, is a certain ignorance of what is happening in the country. The country has had no dialogue for many years. The press was not free for many years; the labor unions could not talk for many years; the students could not have their organs of expression for many years. Brazilians began not to know each other any longer. And that is bad. That is bad because, as I see it, it brings about fears which many times are unfounded. But there is much to be done.

FSP: What would you propose?

PAS: I get the impression that, if the opposition were to manage to come up not only with a merely juridical-institutional proposal for the political process, but if it were capable of articulating a more general proposal, a proposal which would not offer a unified program, because these are heterogeneous forces, but rather the parameters within which the disputes and contradictions could emerge--I get the impression that this could help the process along. I think that the definition of these opposition forces, which I listed, could--depending upon the way it is handled--help cement the opposition together and get it going.

"Social Democracy Is in Vogue But Who Has a Well-Defined Program?"

FSP: Alberto Dines, a journalist, essentially a journalist, now has the floor. He speaks with the authority of a person who has already paid a good price for the right to say what he thinks.

Alberto Dines: I think that we are arriving at a consensus here in making a distinction between two circles which sometimes work concentrically, represented by the mentality of the opposition and the opposition party. Almost all of the comrades who preceded me dealt more with this oppositionist mentality and left the MDB out. I do not praise the MDB. I think that the MDB

is a part of the game. As in the game of censorship, the censor and the censored have some common interests and the MDB is a party to this authoritarian game.

FSP: How come? What arguments could you present on that score?

AD [Alberto Dines]: We have lots of examples to prove that the MDB makes use of that authoritarian game. The most obvious is the divorce bill, submitted after the "April package," opposing even the Church's position and the Church is one of the opposition groups. It is thus clearly proved that the opposition mentality sometimes blends or merges with the opposition party, but not always. The opposition party in Brazil is a part of the authoritarian scheme and accepted the authoritarian game many times for the sake of its own survival. The MDB has failed frequently. It is involved in issues, such as human rights, but it is absent from the struggle for other democratic freedoms.

FSP: What freedoms, for example, would they be?

Opposition Plays Authoritarian Game

AD: Due to lack of proper organization, for example, the MDB did not manage to exert any portion of authority in the case of the nuclear accord. The MDB got caught in a contradiction, in a situation of total ambiguity because it is traditionally nationalist--but the accord was with Germany and the MDB had to be against the United States. Then it completely flopped on an issue which is crucial, partly also because the nuclear accord is the big technological effort made by Brazilian militarism. Therefore I think that the MDB--when it failed to prevail, when the topics were not concerned with human rights or democratic freedoms--I think that the MDB ruined itself completely due to lack of ideological organization. Created by the revolution, it agreed to the game of being the opposition party within an authoritarian scheme. It did not have the courage to create definite situations, to take risks, even to risk its own fate. Then it, in a certain way, as it has done many times before, legitimized the candidacy of Magalhaes Pinto [and] now runs the risk of legitimizing that election oddity which is being planned for the current year. I believe that, if there is anything to deplore in the Brazilian opposition, it is the very frequently lamentable performance of the MDB.

FSP: And what way out of all this do you see?

AD: I think that we must really break away from the specter of the UDN [National Democratic Union] which was something like that. The UDN had an opposition mentality without any program, without any more objective platform. And when it came to power, the whole thing turned into a disaster. I think that--from the view point of the prospects for the opposition--I get the impression that the MDB must engage in self-criticism and simply accept that its end has come. Thus, it would create the way toward the creation of other opposition parties which however would be better shaped, which would be more

crystallized, which would be better defined ideologically, which could really be an opposition on all levels and not only on the issue of human rights, a point where public opinion is much stronger than the party.

Socialist Party Is What Really Fascinates Me

FSP: In summary, you are in favor of the MDB dissolving itself?

AD: I think that the MDB did the most it could do and that it was very feeble. Now the time has come for it to dissolve itself and to create conditions so that parties may spring up with ideological organization, parties that can do something useful and real in the program area. Here they would also introduce the structural reforms which are necessary in order to give democracy a base, not only democracy on paper, but essential and existential democracy.

FSP: What party would you say you are with?

AD: We have to be careful to make sure that parties, from here on in, will be parties with programs. Chagas Freitas said that he was with the democratic left in the past. Delfim said that he was a Fabian in his youth. That means that everything will be lost once again because everybody is socialist--and as Castelo said so genially in one of his columns, recalling the episode of the Constitution, where Benedito Valadares supposedly said: "Put a little communism in. It's in vogue." Today, everybody wants to put a little bit of social democracy into everything because it is the fashion. But we have to get away from that ambiguity. We must not fall apart into pressure groups and we must stick with well-defined parties. The Socialist Party is the party that really fascinates me. Let the other parties define their stand. That is a general wish.

"This Candidacy of Magalhaes Shows That We Have a Single Party"

FSP: This brings us to Mr. Tito Costa, the prefect of Sao Bernardo, who will tell us of the impressions he gathered along the outskirts of Sao Paulo. Since he is a jurist, we would like to ask him whether the opposition or the Brazilian opposition forces also are active in his sector--and how?

Tito Costa: I observe that, in terms of the direction in which our opposition forces are moving, we are all in accord. I would like to single out three aspects. There is a union--although sometimes occasional--of the opposition forces, the most diversified ones, with a view to an objective which becomes a common objective. I recall, for example, that when I was candidate for the office of prefect in 1972, in Sao Bernardo, I had no audience to talk to. Now, in 1976, things have changed completely because there is already a prepared audience.

FSP: To what do you attribute these changes?

TC [Tito Costa]: This is an evolution of mentalities, of aspirations, of difficulties which keep adding up in the face of a common situation. I would thus single out three aspects which I came to feel even more during my term of office. First of all, the tendency toward centralism which already predominates in this government and which comes to us from earlier administrations. This tendency toward centralism, which is manifesting itself in many other aspects, emerged, for example, not only in the judicial reform which practically abolished our federation but we can see it specifically in the issue of the municipalities. The urban development law, which the administration is preparing, and the land subdivision law will lead to the stifling of state and municipal activities. Against that, we, the prefects, had the support of countless strata, including land owners, even big landowners, who found themselves threatened by a very dangerous trend toward centralization.

FSP: Are there other sectors in which this centralization was manifested in such an oppressive manner?

TC: Yes, and that is the second aspect of my presentation. In December the Economic Development Council passed a resolution which seriously harms the economy of Sao Paulo, especially the industry. It introduces restrictions on the financing of new industries, the financing of old ones and very old ones, which want to expand. This is a measure that came out of the office of a minister through a resolution which was rejected most forcefully within the Greater ABC [Industrial Sections of Santo Andre, Sao Bernardo do Campo, and Sao Caetano do Sul].

Common Threat Generates Generalized Union

FSP: And what form did this rejection take? What spread and depth did it assume?

TC: The fight against this measure united businessmen of the most diverse tendencies, such as the Federation of Industries, the Center of Industries, the Society of Engineers and Architects, unionized workers, prefects, city councilmen, and the most diverse population strata because the resolution, being highly prejudicial to industry, triggered general resistance. And what does that resistance spring from? From the prefects and the people, united; from the workers because they want more jobs or because they want job security for themselves; from manufacturers, merchants, and store clerks; finally, as our Fernando Henrique said, it is a confederation which espouses the rise of new events. A generalized union sprang up in response to a common threat.

FSP: And what do you think of the behavior of the opposition forces in political terms?

TC: This, precisely, is the third point in my presentation. It is exactly the point which Castelo Branco referred to--the problem of Magalhaes Pinto's candidacy. It seems to me very definitely to be a point of convergence for the

various opposition forces in Brazil, because, as Antonio Candido said, it would constitute opposition to changing the rules of the game and it would not seek a more profound transformation in our structures. But I believe that this is already a healthy symptom because it has awakened, because it has stirred, because it has meant that the opposition is not just the MDB, with all of the precariousness of the instruments it has, but because it is a more widespread and more open opposition.

FSP: Then you think that Magalhaes Pinto's candidacy is a positive thing?

TC: As I see it, Magalhaes Pinto's candidacy reminds us of the Mexican-type system to which Castelo Branco referred. This candidacy shows very clearly that we are living in a single-party system. If the candidacy of Ulisses Guimaraes were considered an opposition candidacy, because it had no way of winning and rounding up votes, then the candidacy of Senator Magalhaes Pinto is not exactly that. It cannot be considered an opposition candidacy, because, if he could possibly get through the ARENA convention, he could get into the electoral college and he could even be elected--but never as an opposition candidate.

FSP: What conclusions would we then arrive at?

TC: We would arrive at the conclusion that the single-party system gives us two candidates, running under the same label, with perhaps equal or at least similar possibilities of coming to power--something which would never happen in case of an anticandidacy [opposition candidacy], such as that of the MDB. In truth, however, the episode or the figure of Magalhaes Pinto only serves to show us--to us analysts and to us men who live in the opposition--that, at a given moment, a man who precisely represented one of the leaders of 1964, can rally various public opinion segments around him. And in so doing, he can demonstrate that there is dissatisfaction which is very much greater than the one we might imagine to exist now and that this is not just dissatisfaction coming from an opposition excluding the MDB but coming from all opposition forces in Brazil.

"The Difficulty Resides in Formulating Concrete Democratic Options"

FSP: Professor Jose Alvaro Moises now has the floor. Speaking not just as a social scientist but also as a journalist, what do you have to say about the progress of the opposition forces in Brazil?

Jose Alvaro Moises: Well, to review the opposition's situation, I would like to take as my point of departure what I would call the crisis situation or the topic of crisis. I think that the topic of crisis is rather elucidative because the moments of crisis are those during which members of societies naturally have the opportunity to cast light upon their deadlock situation. I think that we are today living through moments of crisis on top and moments of crisis at the bottom. I believe that this helps cast light on the impasses which in some way have been covered up for so many years. Now, in this sense,

I believe that thinking about the topic of crisis will help us perhaps gain a better understanding of the inquiry which Professor Antonio Candido came out with: why are we arriving at a moment when an opening is demanded?

FSP: And what is the nature of that crisis which you keep talking about so insistently?

JAM [Jose Alvaro Moises]: I will get to that. First of all I would like to say that I think it might perhaps be a good idea to add that the opening is demanded by the deadlock in which those on top find themselves and by the elbow room required by those on the bottom in order to be able to manifest their interest, in order to be able to manifest their will, which was clearly repressed over these past 14 years. Now, in this sense, I think that it is necessary to look into the nature of the command crisis, first of all, the crisis of authority. I think that it is a profound factor of command crisis that has suddenly caused everybody today in Brazil to keep wondering about the direction to be imparted to our institutionalization, with or without quotation marks. In order not to get too far afield, I would like to take up the labor union issue. I think that the labor union issue is at the focus of the debate on the question of the crisis, in other words, the question of democracy.

FSP: It would be interesting for you to develop that topic a little more broadly.

JAM: Many of us today are surprised to hear it said that the working class has been "silent" until now. I would say that those sectors, through molecular, small movement, sometimes in the form of sector paralysis, sometimes in the form of the so-called turtle-slow operations, in 1972-1973, I would say, already were pursuing some kind of resistance to the difficult conditions that were imposed on them. So, I would not talk so much in terms of silence here. I think that what was behind that was the trouble the politicians and intellectuals had in seeing the bubbling and boiling that came up from below. I am saying this in order to lead up to the next point, the deadlock down below. When I say deadlock down below I mean the deadlock of the opposition forces which, as I see it, have been incapable of clearly formulating a democratic alternative if, by the term "democratic" we mean a democracy of the majority. I think that this is our topic: our difficulty--I am saying "our" in order to include all those who are in the various opposition forces--in concretely formulating a democratic alternative.

Put a Chalk Circle Around the Social Issue'

FSP: Are we thus in the midst of a deadlock?

JAM: Yes, but I would say that this deadlock is the counterpart of the difficulties on top. Yes, because they, the elite, who are today demoralized in the face of their inability to run society--and I am using the word "demoralized" in the profound sense of the word--no longer have the spirit to exercise command. And this is what lends depth to the crisis we all are

in, the entire nation, including all classes. It is in this sense that I say that this is a counter part. This, in some way, I would say, draws a chalk circle around the question which can enable the opposition forces to advance at this moment. I think that the chalk circle is drawn here around the social issue and the question of defining what kind of democracy we are talking about when we demand democracy.

FSP: So, the social issue must be the central point in the entire debate?

JAM: Perhaps the division within the opposition forces among conservative liberals, on the one hand, and, speaking more broadly, the socialists, on the other hand, can tell us that there is here--I would not say, a division--but rather a line of demarcation which determines different identities. But even so I do not believe that we, in talking about distinction, in talking about these different identities, are laboring in the field of divisions. I think that today it is perfectly possible for those who are in the opposition --let us call them liberal--to understand that it is not possible to advance the demand for democracy unless, in talking about democracy, one refers to the conditions under which that democracy could come about. In the Brazilian case, talking about the social conditions of democracy, the first question that comes to mind and that emerges is the question of the labor unions. It is the question of finding out whether these vast wage-earner majorities, who sustain the nation, will be able to express themselves or at least to defend their living conditions. That, let us say, is the central point. As I see it, this is the issue which in a certain way will define the quality which the democracy, that we all want to build, will have to have. If we were capable of legitimizing the conflict in the process of political and social disputes, I believe that the labor unions will be able to achieve labor union liberty and the various components of society, more united, less united, more allied or less allied, will be able to express themselves in the form of new political parties.

"Army Is Force That Breaks Up United Party"

FSP: The nationally syndicated columnist Castelo Branco, who has come to Brasilia to participate in this debate, is making his contribution through his long experience with the country's problems.

Carlos Castelo Branco: I would like to make a little observation here on what Fernando Henrique Cardoso said; he identified the proposal for maintaining the rules of the game in the "April package." I think that the "April package" profoundly changed the rules of the game. It did not retain anything, it changed everything. First of all, there was a small margin for concessions within the rules of the game. And the "April package" eliminated that narrow margin. Second, the regime's rule of the game is represented by the political decision that is made under military inspiration. And, for the first time, the president of the republic acted in imperial style, acted by himself, leaving aside another force in the country, that force being represented by the Armed Forces.

FSP: Were those the only consequences of the "April package?"

CCB [Carlos Castelo Branco]: No. The MDB was traumatized and paralyzed. With the nation traumatized, the government found itself facing a new fact. The eruption of an opposition never felt before and not institutionalized, because it was the manifestation of opposition from the entire stratum of civilian society. In response to that, the government launched a counter offensive. First of all, it did so by prematurely launching the candidacy for the office of president of the republic, as if it had sprung from the midst of a politically inspired group whereas, in reality, it was a candidacy prepared personally in Planalto Palace, a personal decision by the president of the republic. Second, it sent Senator Petronio Portela out to control the MDB, a party which formally represented the revolution, and to try to isolate the MDB from those organs of civilian society which were fighting against the government and against the system. This was a twin offensive which was aimed at isolating the MDB and attracting the country to a type of reform which the administration wants to institute but which, so far, has not yet been formulated and which nobody knows what it is going to be like.

FSP: And why did the MDB remain static and stagnant?

CCB: The MDB remained isolated, like an island. For that very reason it had to accept a compromise which apparently was not noted, nor even noticed. That compromise was aimed at transferring the responsibility for conducting the opposition to a group with ARENA, the group of Senator Magalhaes Pinto. The latter expressly proposed to demand within the system--he, a man who had emerged from the system itself--and to advocate a change in the system in terms of the theses advocated not only by the MDB but by all of the representatives of civil society.

Talks Between Magalhaes and Ulisses

FSP: But this is a completely unpublished version of the reasons behind Magalhaes' candidacy. Were there any official contacts with the MDB?

CCB: Yes, this was not something that happened by chance. They were preliminary conversations between Senator Magalhaes Pinto and deputy Ulisses Guimaraes. In the course of these conversations, it was agreed that the MDB would withdraw in order to allow that force to gain consistency within ARENA and to move on to demand the existence of a civilian candidacy capable of attracting support not only among civilians but also among the military.

FSP: And when was that understanding arrived at?

CCB: That happened before the resignation of General Silvio Frota. I do not know whether, because of information or by instinct, President Geisel eliminated the expectation of military opposition. Acting quickly and efficiently --clearly indicating that he is more a general than president of the republic --he got the minister of war to resign and he managed to isolate him.

FSP: And what about the Hugo Abreu episode?

CCB: Silvio Frota's departure did not eliminate the assumption of a challenge to Figueiredo's candidacy since the latter was not a candidacy that had the support of the High Command. Gen Hugo Abreu, chief of the president's military office, was the normal go-between between the government and the High Command. He was expecting that--the moment President Geisel consulted his High Command--he would hear some restrictions which would advise him to seek another name that would unite the army and calm it down.

FSP: But none of that happened and the result was Gen Hugo Abreu's resignation.

CCB: Indeed. General Geisel--who is a man whose style leads him to conduct successive coups d'etat--pulled off another coup d'etat, anticipating the launching of General Figueiredo's candidacy and thus in effect pushing the army aside. Today, a army general has as much influence in the country's political life as a senator, in other words, he has no influence at all.

FSP: There are those who say that General Geisel had other objectives when he made that decision. Is that true?

CCB: Yes, there are those who believe that he may have had a special objective. That objective would be to facilitate the way toward the institution of the democratic reform and that would also include an attempt here to establish the preliminary components of a Mexican-type single-party system--as an eminent figure of the republic said today. As we know, the army is usually associated within that system because the army is a force that breaks up the single party. But all of this is very much in the dark. But the one thing that is real today is that end of the experience of Senator Magalhaes Pinto and the expectation of the MDB to the effect that, after the convention, even if the Senator were defeated, it would put together with him something that Fernando Henrique called a confederation of opposition forces. But that evidently only is speculation.

"The Creation of Socialist Party Will Not Make Progress Without Content and Without Worker Support"

FSP: Febus Gikovate, a socialist militant since his youth, has experience deriving from political participation which it would not be fair to confine in his clinic and in the laboratories where he spends most of his time today.

Febus Gikovate: It is not by chance that my opinions coincide in general outline with those of Antonio Candido. I would only like to go in depth on some of the aspects already debated and I would like to analyze them in greater detail. Although barely outlined, the democratic opening is due to two types of facts. In the so-called system, a weighty group is arriving or has already arrived at the conclusion that it is impossible, in the long run, to maintain the authoritarian regime established in 1964. President Geisel indisputably is that group's spokesman and acts not only individually in his capacity as chief executive.

FSP: In your opinion, when did President Geisel arrive at these conclusions?

FG [Febus Gikovate]: The intentions to soften the dictatorial regime date back to 1974 and in the beginning ran into heavy resistance within the military system. That resistance was broken and there are three episodes in this internal struggle which stand out. The transfer of General Ednardo, the replacement of General Frota, and the resignation of the chief of the president's military office, Gen Hugo Abreu. What persuaded the group led by Geisel to opt for the democratic opening? On the one hand, the internal difficulties within the economic-political scheme and, on the other hand, with even greater weight, the ever stronger opposition to the dictatorial regime. That opposition--initially represented only by the MDB--kept growing more and more. Discontent deriving from inflation and from the ever more unequal distribution of income caused ever broader strata to arrive at the conviction that, without the full restoration of the government of laws, that is to say, democratic freedoms, it would not be possible to alter and modify the crisis which fundamentally struck the workers and the middle class. But the leading classes also--both in industry and in agriculture--began to display signs of discontent, and sometimes there were even cases of open criticism of economic measures.

FSP: Could so broad and diversified a front of opposition forces not lead to a single front against the system?

FG: I entirely agree with Antonio Candido when he underscores the existence of two types of opposition to the present regime which I would call opposition to the government and opposition to the economic and political system. The oppositionists in the first group are convinced that it is enough to replace the dictatorial government with a liberal-democratic one, without introducing profound reforms in the present economic and political structure. The oppositionists in the second group--among which I include myself in my capacity as a consistent socialist--consider profound economic and political reforms indispensable for the consolidation of a democratic system. In the current situation, they stand by the side of all of those who fight for the restoration of civil liberties. They therefore do not fail to realize that, even during the current phase, a powerful labor union movement, entirely autonomous, divorced from the government and from the political parties, is indispensable. For this same reason I am against any formation of single fronts. A single front presupposes the existence of political parties with well-defined programs, parties which move toward the attainment of certain gains, without losing their very own characteristic appearance.

FSP: What do you think about the formation of a Socialist Party which has been so talked about and which has gotten such heterogeneous support?

FG: The guarantee for in-depth development and, primarily, for the stabilization of a democratic process depends fundamentally on two factors: the rebirth of an autonomous labor union movement and the formation of a lower socialist party. The first signs for the awakening of labor union consciousness have already appeared. But the first articulations toward the establishment of a socialist party--bearing this name or some other name--are not entirely tranquilizing.

No Condition for a Socialist Party

FSP: Why? Lack of cadres?

FG: No, it would do no good to form a labor party, without a socialist content, transformed into a simple mass of maneuver for the big bosses of the past or the present, committed to the ministerialism of the present or the past. Likewise it would do no good to form a socialist party without workers, a party which would provide a home for adventurers of all kinds and which would serve as a screen for currents that have nothing to do with socialism. Besides, there are no conditions for that at this time and it is therefore useless to push toward the formation of a new socialist party. It will have to be the consequence of a study of the country's current development conditions, which are very much different from those of 1964 and 1946, and it will have to be shaped up in the heat of the long struggle for the reconquest of democratic liberties which are indispensable to the organization of parties with well-defined programs. The real possibilities for the formation of a social democratic party will spring up during the current opposition process to the extent that the socialists manage to preserve their ideological independence, without any utopian single fronts and without any spurious alliances, although they might effectively participate side by side with other forces committed to the restoration of liberty and to the defeat of the instruments of oppression and arbitrary action.

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NEW MDB CHAMBER LEADER CITES PERSONAL, PARTY STANDS ON DIALOG

Rio de Janeiro JORNAL DO BRASIL in Portuguese 3 Mar 78 p 4

[Text] "We hope that there will not be any winners or losers, but that just one winner, the MDB [Brazilian Democratic Movement], will prevail, so that the party may remain united in its battle for juridical normality and for the political, economic and social emancipation of the Brazilian people." The foregoing statement was made yesterday by Deputy Tancredo Neves, after he assumed the leadership of the MDB in the Chamber. According to the new leader, the MDB cannot reject the dialog.

Without concealing his fatigue and tension, and also his concern over the unexpected results of the voting, because neither he nor his chief coordinators expected less than a 10-vote difference, the Minas deputy unhesitatingly reaffirmed that he, personally, favors the dialog, "because we are a democratic party."

Reaction

In his first conversation with newsmen after the meeting had concluded, Mr Tancredo Neves made a point of explaining that any position assumed by the MDB regarding the dialog and the political reforms will be incumbent on the command entities, not the leaders.

He said: "The MDB is a democratic party, and it cannot reject the dialog, either with the government, with the ARENA [National Renewal Alliance] nor with the various Brazilian institutions. However, the feasibility and extent of the dialog will be determined by the party's command."

A few moments earlier, in addressing the meeting after turning over his position to Mr Tancredo Neves, Deputy Freitas Nobre had expressed opposition to the dialog, because he regarded it as unnecessary.

Conflict

This position on the part of the former leader did not change the view of the new leader in the legislature, and it will certainly cause him trouble and burden him greatly. Proof of this was the reaction on the part of the

so-called "authentic" in the MDB, most of whom were disappointed and disillusioned by the Minas deputy's victory. For example, the president of the Pernambucan MDB, Deputy Jarbas Vasconcelos, commented:

"The results of the election were a victory for moderation, for Senator Petronio Portella, for ARENA and for the system."

He added that whoever puts up authentic opposition will have to avoid at all cost "the accommodating behavior that the PSD-[Social Democratic Party] oriented Tancredo Neves will try to force on the legislative group." In his opinion, "Today, the MDB lost millions of votes of progressive forces who, combating the authoritarian regime, hoped and believed that with Mr Freitas Nobre resuming the leadership, it would maintain the strong, proud, courageous and consistent line of opposition that we have adopted."

Another coordinator of the Freitas Nobre candidacy, deputy leader Fernando Lyra (Pernambuco), declared it a "victory for Chagas Freitas and Institutional Act 5." According to him, the six deputies who were dismissed from his legislature would be sure votes for the reelection of Mr Freitas Nobre. Surprised by the results, Mr Fernando Lyra did not agree with the comments made by his colleagues to the effect that there had been a betrayal.

"I wouldn't call it a betrayal. But we have two crossovers: Sebastiao Rodrigues from Parana, and Jorge Moura from Rio. They have always been on our side in difficult battles, but today they changed sides, surely with loftier motives."

[Question] How do you view the results?

[Answer] I am still waiting to see. Meanwhile, I hope that Mr Tancredo Neves will not bring his Minas spirit to the leadership.

[Question] What does that mean?

[Answer] It is a spirit of conciliation, on behalf of conciliation. What the MDB sorely needs is affirmation. Otherwise, we run the risk of losing the electoral support and credibility of the national conscience.

Irritation

The source of greatest irritation to the MDB members was the absence of Deputy Otavio Ceccato (Sao Paulo), who is linked with Senator Orestes Quercia and regarded as a sure vote for Mr Tancredo Neves.

It was commented that the Sao Paulo congressman (who appeared in the Chamber during the morning) had returned to Sao Paulo so as to avoid voting.

Mr Tancredo Neves was annoyed when he learned about this, and remarked: "If that is so, it was an irresponsible attitude and a great lack of consideration for his colleagues."

Deputy and General Florin Coutinho (Rio de Janeiro) reacted more aggressively. Impatient at the delay in the vote counting, he commented with regard to Mr Otavio Ceccato: "An idiot did that, and tomorrow it will be news in all the papers."

Goal Now Is to Integrate the Party

Today, Deputy Tancredo Neves will have to begin a battle considerably more difficult than the one he was forced to wage yesterday when he was elected the MDB's leader in the Chamber by exactly half of the opposition's legislative group. With 77 votes, he will now have to win over the other MDB members who lacked confidence in him, with a view toward the integration of the party during this election year.

Although he had a victory which hinged on a difference of between 12 and 15 votes (just as the supporters of Mr Freitas Nobre had predicted), Deputy Tancredo Neves defeated the former leader by only two votes and one blank ballot. While his followers attempted to identify those who did not keep their commitments, Mr Tancredo was already expressing the opinion that, "In the contest there were neither winners nor losers."

Needless Delay

By 1130 hours, the 153 valid ballots had been cast in the ballot box. The last to vote were Messrs Paulo Marques of Parana, who arrived in the morning from Miami to vote for Mr Freitas Nobre, and the Rio "authentic," Jorge Moura, who was to vote for Deputy Tancredo Neves. From then on, until 1600 hours, the entire legislative group was kept waiting for Sao Paulo Deputy Otavio Ceccato.

However, both groups knew that the congressmen would not make an appearance. Mr Freitas Nobre's wing, which was not counting on the vote, required his absence. In the event that he should show up, his vote would be given to Mr Ulisses Guimaraes or to any other congressman who was not running for the position of party leader. Mr Tancredo Neves' wing was relying on the effort of Senator Petronio Portella, who was to have asked Senator Orestes Quercia to prevent Mr Ceccato from appearing, inasmuch as his vote for the moderates was likewise doubtful.

The tactic of absence, in the case of dubious votes, was also attempted with Rio Deputy Jose Maria de Carvalho. A few days ago, he received a visit from Mr Freitas Nobre, whom he promised his vote. Later, when former Governor Chagas Freitas himself starting working for Tancredo Neves' candidacy (even telephoning the mayors and councilmen asking them to pressure their deputies) Mr Jose Maria, wishing to keep his word to the leader, said that he would not change his vote. He was then requested not to appear, and he did not.

Since Wednesday afternoon, following the reading of President Geisel's message to Congress, many of Mr Freitas Nobre's adherents claimed to be more

confident than ever of victory, because the announcement that the political reforms would be made "under the auspices" of the April "package" had decided the votes of eight who had not made up their minds.

However, it was a fact that those who had not joined one of the factions until that afternoon had not done so solely because of ideological problems, but others, such as the negotiation of positions on committees, deputy leadership, travel abroad or even business, as in the case of a congressman who asked one of the groups for priority in the distribution of a certain product in his state.

The fact that the president's message did not did not influence the voting on the choice of the leader of the MDB's legislative faction at least did not convince the colorful Deputy Nelson Thibau of Minas, the perennial candidate for the leadership and, in the event that he had an opportunity, even for the presidency of the republic.

He told his colleagues: "In a way, the message helped Freitas." And to those who inquired why, he replied: "Because it was not 'nobre' [a play on words: "nobre" meaning "noble" and being Freitas' surname also].

Same Predictions

Deputy Thales Ramalho's predictions favoring Mr Tancredo Neves were based on the following reasoning. A year ago, the former leader Alencar Furtado had defeated Mr Laerte Vieira by seven votes. Now, two congressmen would not be voting: Alencar Furtado himself, and Mr Marcos Tito, both of whom were ousted by Institutional Act 5. Moreover, from Acre to Espiritu Santo, Mr Alencar Furtado had a 13-vote difference, which was not the case now, because those states would cast 18 votes for each of the candidates. The difference in the South, particularly in Rio and Minas Gerais, favored Deputy Tancredo Neves.

Always the indicator on the scale, the Rio legislative group (with 30 congressman) was in fact divided. Deputy Miro Teixeira guaranteed 22 votes for Mr Tancredo Neves; and Deputy Ario Theodoro guaranteed 15 votes for Mr Freitas Nobre.

Unlike the last election, when there was an obvious atmosphere of hostility between the factions, in this contest the behavior of both wings was cordial. The only ones pressured were those who were "straddling," and they ended up being criticized by both sides. There was even one congressman who, to avoid the pressure, bet 5,000 cruzeiros on one candidate, but voted for another, inasmuch as he was committed to both sides.

However, at the plenary session in the Nereu Ramos Auditorium, it was not only that 5,000 cruzeiros which was at stake. The total wagers amounted to 150,000 cruzeiros, not counting the cases of whiskey and wine, plus the "pool" of 5,200 cruzeiros, which was won by Iturival Nascimento from

Goiás who, unconcerned about Mr Tancredo Neves' slight margin of victory, complimented the former prime minister for "helping me to win."

Doubtful Future

After the announcement of the results by President Ulisses Guimarães, Mr Tancredo Neves delivered his first speech as leader, constantly attempting to avoid the image of winners and losers, and promising to strive for the restoration of juridical order in our country.

Immediately thereafter, however, former leader Freitas Nobre requested the floor to make it clear that he was head of a group which wants amnesty and the convocation of a Constituent Assembly, and which is opposed to dialog with the government.

It is in this atmosphere and with this division that Mr Tancredo Neves will now have the responsibility for leading the opposition group in the Chamber. As a deputy from Minas, he will have to attempt to integrate the legislative group, based only on the conviction that the dialog with the government is necessary, but also on the physical factor of the division of offices, although his group will obviously have priority. So, the former PSD member will try to do what he can not to antagonize the opposite wing, as he explained yesterday.

[Question] And the party, Deputy? Where will it be?

[Answer] There will be no party. You only celebrate when you have defeated an adversary. This was a contest between friends.

In the evening, the deputies most closely associated with Tancredo's candidacy were at Mr Thales Ramalho's apartment.

2909

CSO: 3001

JUSTICE AND PEACE COMMISSION ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Campaign for Exiles Launched

Rio de Janeiro JORNAL DO BRASIL in Portuguese 8 Feb 78 p 3

[Text] Sao Paulo--"A national campaign, including declarations in Congress, will be launched by the Sao Paulo Justice and Peace Commission, which is in contact with the OAB [Brazilian Bar Association], to inform the public about the status of nearly 10,000 Brazilians (most of whom are living abroad) who are regarded as politically undesirable. Prevented from working because their passports need to be renewed, or even from having their children registered, they are treated as if they were stateless persons."

This information comes from the chairman of the Justice and Peace Commission, Professor Dalmo de Abreu Dalari, who announced that, during the next few days, a meeting would be held with the president of the OAB, Professor Raimundo Faoro, to discuss the details of the campaign. According to Mr Dalari, it is estimated that there are about 10,000 Brazilians subjected to restrictions. He said: "The problem has assumed such dimensions that it will be impossible for international agencies to be informed on it." He stressed the fact that "The majority of these individuals have not been brought to trial, but are subject to indirect restrictions."

Exact Number

The chairman of the Justice and Peace Commission remarked that the entity has received countless requests for intervention, which have become "increasingly frequent," and that soon "it will be possible to ascertain the exact number of Brazilians abroad who are having problems with their papers." He recalled that there have been instances of decrees for security, such as that involving the playwright Augusto Boal, whose papers were revalidated through the justice system.

He said: "We are considering giving wider publicity to these cases, because the situation is serious. Brazilians must realize that countless fellow countrymen of theirs are living in a humiliating situation, which is at times quite tragic; because the Brazilian Government, in violation of the law, has denied them papers."

Example

Professor Dallari added: "One need only remember that there are countless foreign refugees in Sao Paulo who are having great difficulty in working, and who are generally viewed with a great deal of suspicion." He described a recent example: "An Argentine architect showed up at my house selling toilet soap in order to make a living. It is a distressing situation for many people but, most of all, it evokes a reaction of being in a vacuum. Therefore, the refugee suffers extreme discomfort."

He pointed out: "It is quite likely that many Brazilians who are highly skilled professionally and intellectually have also been forced to sell toilet soap on the streets of the world."

Indefinite Rules

In enumerating the problems of these Brazilians, the chairman of the Justice and Peace Commission declared: "Since problems relating to security are not yet subject to clearly defined rules, there is always a fear of arbitrary restrictions which can range from mere abuse to extremely serious situations."

He claims that the campaign for enlightenment will be based upon exposures of instances of restriction, giving publicity to the existing problems. The professor explained: "Naturally, we shall have to be careful to avoid having our intention of helping end up causing a detrimental effect. For this reason, whenever possible, the names of the victims will not be mentioned."

Amnesty

In the view of Professor Dalmo Dallari, the problem of passports may be regarded as "one of the aspects of the amnesty issue." He added: "The harshness may be the simplest aspect, because, in most instances, the individuals involved have not been subjected to any official punishment. Thus, it would suffice if the executive branch took the initiative to make the embassies and consulates simply obey the law."

He confirmed the fact that he was aware of a "genuine book containing a list of names of individuals regarded as undesirable who are living abroad, and even some living in Brazil, the latter of whom have had difficulty obtaining passports." He claims that this list of names was distributed by Itamarati to the embassies and consulates of Brazil.

International Commission Officials Visit

Rio de Janeiro JORNAL DO BRASIL in Portuguese 22 Feb 78 p 3

[Text] Brasilia--Yesterday, the chairman of the Pontifical International Justice and Peace Commission, Cardinal Bernardin Gantin, stated that he had neither the time nor the intention of contacting the Brazilian Government to discuss the problem of human rights. He claimed to be unaware of previous attempts on the part of the Commission to do so.

The Cardinal of Dahomey (Africa) arrived in Brasilia yesterday, accompanied by the secretary of the Pontifical International Commission, Jesuit Roger Heckel, and declined to make any statements regarding the status of human rights in the country, claiming that he had not yet had any official contact with the president of the CNBB [National Conference of Brazilian Bishops], and that he did not have any other information.

Movements

In addition to the chairman and secretary of the Pontifical Justice and Peace Commission, the presidents of the Bishops Conferences of Canada and France, Bishops Gilles Oullet and Etchegaray, and one of the members of the United States Bishops Commission, Bishop Malone, will be arriving today to participate in the meeting to discuss the project known as "International Movements for a Society to Eliminate Domination."

Although all of them are due to attend the meeting of the Pastoral Bishops Commission today and tomorrow, the official meeting to discuss the "International Movements" project will be held on Thursday and Friday. The purpose of the meeting is to discuss the possibility of continuing with the project and the feasibility of repeating it later.

The "International Movements for a Society to Eliminate Domination" project was launched by the CNBB in 1975, for the purpose of:

a. Promoting studies to analyze the structural status of the different types of oppressive processes which affect contemporary mankind, seeking alternatives to arrive at a system that will eliminate domination; and, b. exposing the more serious violations of human rights and the oppressive structures which have made them possible.

According to the explanation given by Bishop Aloisio Lorscheider when the project was launched, the purpose of the studies and exposes is to arouse the people's consciousness, because "no transformation of social structures can be effective and acceptable without a widespread consciousness among the people; because systems of domination only endure so long as they are instilled in the consciousness of those who are oppressed."

Itamarati Is Unaware of the Purpose of the Visit

Itamarati is unaware of the purpose of the visit made to Brazil by Cardinal Bernardin Cantin and French Jesuit Roger Heckel, the chairman and secretary of the International Justice and Peace Commission; but it was informed, "as a matter of courtesy," by the Holy See's Embassy in Brasilia, that the trip would be made.

This statement was made by Itamarati's spokesman, Councillor Luiz Felipe Lampreia, who, when questioned about the need for an official message from the Vatican regarding the trip, since the visit is not official, confined himself to explaining that it was a "matter of courtesy."

Dallari Brings Information on Exiles

Sao Paulo--Early today, the chairman of the Sao Paulo Justice and Peace Commission, Professor Dalmo de Abreu Dallari, will travel to Brasilia where he will meet with the chairman of the International Justice and Peace Commission, Cardinal Bernardin Gantin, bringing "the large possible amount of information on the status of the Brazilian exiles, so that an assessment may be made of the difficulties confronting them."

Mr Dallari (who reported the existence of 10,000 Brazilian exiles with problems involving the renewal of their passports and papers) was called to Brasilia to participate in the meeting held by Cardinal Gantin and the secretary of the International Commission, Jesuit Roger Heckel, with the CNBB's Pastoral Bishops Commission.

The Deportees

Although the note from the Ministry of Justice states:"The allegation that birth certificates have been refused for the children born abroad to Brazilians who for any reason are residing outside of the country is improper," Cardinal Paulo Evaristo Arns released yesterday excerpts from a letter received last Saturday from a Brazilian exile living in Sweden, reporting that he was unable to register his two daughters, aged three and one and a half years, at the Brazilian Embassy. The cardinal did not disclose the name of the deportee.

2909

CSO: 3001

CHILE

DOCUMENTS SEIZED AT PDC LEADERS' MEETING

Gathering Termed Political

Santiago LA TERCERA DE LA HORA in Spanish 18 Jan 78 p 5

[Text] A set of documents was seized in the office raided on Friday of last week in the center of Santiago, where 12 former leaders of the dissolved Christian Democratic Party (PDC) were arrested. All of them were exiled the next day to cordillera towns in the province of Antofagasta [sic]. According to the official version of security agencies, the group apprehended in office 1311 at 1373 Huerfanos Street belonged to the left wing of the former PDC. Among the documents released yesterday to the press is a tentative action program for 1978; the original of the book entitled "Confieso Que He Sufrido" [I Confess That I Have Suffered], apparently written by a prisoner (Hector Arias Pantoja) in Puchuncavi, and an analysis of the situation and policy plans to be followed in the union domain in general. Seized in the raid was a Kardex set with cards of volunteers enrolled to travel abroad and work in United Nations programs. "All of this shows the political activity that was carried on by the prisoners right up until the time of their arrest. The meeting at which they were surprised was in no way a social or juridical type of meeting, but a political one," revealed a security spokesman.

Left Wing

The 12 prisoners belong to the left wing of the dissolved Christian Democratic Party, the preliminary investigation has established. For example, Elias Sanchez Cabezas was an active member of that sector of the former PDC. He has prepared strategy documents for use inside and outside the party and various groups opposed to the supreme government, such as "Los Diez" [The Ten], the Center for Labor Studies (CEL), and others, according to the informants, who added: "Belisario Velasco Barahona: Belongs to the left wing of the former DC. On 10 August of last year he made his domicile available to the group arrested last Friday for holding one of

its first meetings, where each member made known his position with respect to the government. In 1977 he was exiled to Putre; he was at that time general manager of Radio "Belmaceda," which belonged to the Christian Democrats.

Contacts

"Manuel Sepulveda Malbran has participated in all clandestine meetings and maintains contacts with the Catholic Church and Marxist sectors of the MIR [Movement of the Revolutionary Left]. He is an activist who favors hunger strikes, national work stoppages, and any action serving to harm the government." "Tomas Reyes Vicuna also belongs to the left wing of the former PDC. In this group he is the man of experience and mature thinking. He is the link between the executive part of the PDC and the groups to which he belongs." "Union leader Hernan Mery Toro, Juan Claudio Reyes, and Enrique Hernandez Andrade also belong to that group."

Strategy

"Samuel Astorga Jorquera, former PDC deputy: regularly participates in clandestine meetings to conspire against the government. Contact man in the DC with Marxist sectors and the Church." The report released to newspapermen adds: "He has maintained constant contact with Jorge Frias, a militant belonging to the CUT [expansion unknown] Committee, out of the country in exile." "Ignacio Balbontin Arteaga is both a lawyer and a DC sociologist. He is one of the men who head the left-wing group of that organization dissolved last year. He prepares the party documents that are sent to the exterior. He is the strategist of the group and gives ideological instruction to the militants of that party, whether they be young people, workers, employees, laborers, etc. in various seminars held at the Cardijn Foundation, Padre Hutado, and other places." "Guillermo Yunge Bustamante: He was arrested before the national election by the police on Paseo Ahumada for promoting disturbances and political unrest, and for holding an unauthorized march by the JDC [Christian Democratic Youth]. Most of the meetings of the DC left wing on strategic actions against the government junta were held in his office No. 1311 at 1373 Huerfanos Street."

Only Woman

"Georgina Aceituno Saavedra," according to the report, is the only woman in the group. She maintains contacts with the Catholic Church and with wives of individuals who are allegedly missing, with whom she organizes hunger strikes and other actions." "Another strategist of the group is Andres Aylwin Azocar. He serves as a contact with officials of the left wing of the DC who are on the outside conducting actions against the government." concludes the report released to the press.

National Strike Promoted

Santiago LA TERCERA DE LA HORA in Spanish 18 Jan 78 p 5

[Text] In the document "New Roads and Alternatives of the Union Movement" found right after the raid, there is a passage which reads as follows: "All those antecedents indicate that the new roads and objectives have to be the great mobilization of the union movement culminating in a progressive national strike. For this plan to be successful, it requires a preparation that may last for several months in order for it to be firmed up and ready in 1978."

Parties Losing Influence

Santiago LA TERCERA DE LA HORA in Spanish 18 Jan 78 p 5

[Text] About \$20,000 was the cost of the research project entitled "The Workers and the Military Government of Chile," the draft of which was seized in the office rented by Guillermo Yungue Bustamante. Its purpose was to investigate, "the situation in which the workers' movement in the country finds itself, 4 years after the establishment of the military regime." Among the aspects that it was interested in investigating was "their capacity for mobilization." Strategic and tactical lines were going to be issued that could be assumed "by the Chilean union movement at the present time..." It was estimated that the work was going to last 10 months, and \$19,900 was earmarked for it. The research team was composed of a labor leader, a lawyer, an economist, a sociologist, and three assistants. According to preliminary calculations, \$2,200 would be required to get mobilized for interviews and for meetings in Santiago and in the provinces.

Tentative Program

A draft of the tentative plan was removed by the police from the raided office on Huerfanos Street. Point 4 of the draft of the "tentative program for 1978" reads: "Relations: With the Church. Political parties. International trade union movement. To make it possible to gain the support and solidary cooperation of these institutions."

Politicians Losing Influence

Another document removed from the office on Huerfanos Street is entitled: "The Situation Has Been Going on for Almost 10 Years." Its first paragraph states that the politicians are continuing to lose influence and control over the social bases, admitting that the divergences in the political structures are continuing with the drive to gain power in the

future. In the face of the government's victory in the national election (a little more than 75 percent of the votes cast) and the failure of the opposition, it is pointed out that "the suffering people did not respond."

Cardijn Foundation

Among the letters found in the raid during which 12 former political, union, and student leaders of the dissolved PDC were arrested, there is a letter sent by Mario Livingstone, executive director of the Cardijn Foundation, to former Foreign Affairs Minister Gabriel Valdes, presently a high official of an agency under the jurisdiction of the United Nations. It is dated the 10th of this past January. In one place the note refers to the budget for carrying out project No. 1 dealing with unionism, which was approved by two British institutions. "The total cost would be split in half. In August we were advised of its approval, and we have done all that they have asked, but the money still does not come. Before then we were "accused of belonging to the DC by a group of people here in Chile, and we are sure that is what is holding up the money. We are urgently in need of it, for we only have enough money for March.

Christian Democrats' Statement

Santiago LA TERCERA DE LA HORA in Spanish 18 Jan 78 p 5

[Text] The dissolved DC [Christian Democrats] yesterday issued the following statement: "In the last few days more than 60 Chileans, almost all of them outstanding militants of the Christian Democratic Party, have been arrested and incarcerated, some subjected to illegal and defaming constraints, and others exiled to remote areas of the country. The Chilean Christian Democratic Party is faced with a systematic process of repression which follows a plan prepared for implementation at the time of the recent election. It is purported to be for the purpose of crushing all form of thought contrary to the decisions of the chief of state. Once again, cruelty and brutality are being used in implementing it. Thus, for example, most of the places of exile designated by the government are among the most inhospitable in the country, both because of their attitude (over 4,000 meters) and their daily temperature fluctuations (over 30° in the daytime and less than 10° or 15° at night), inaccessible and with poor communications, absolute lack of sanitary facilities, food, habitations, medical care, completely unpopulated, etc. These illegal actions do not even meet the legal standards of the regime, which violates the most basic principles of freedom, justice, and fairness. Consequently, they constituted flagrant violations of basic human rights and require the adoption of humanitarian measures to counter the effects of punishment that endangers the very lives of those affected. Those acts create a very serious crisis in the country in which the common welfare is persistently sacrificed for a repressive policy that controverts national security requirements more every day. At a time of grave crisis in the country, each of

those acts deepens the international isolation of the government and the division among Chileans. A country in such a state cannot cope with all the serious problems that confronts it today. We point out these facts because we are first of all Chileans and our country's fate is what concerns us above all else. Nevertheless, serving the interests of Chile means pointing out frankly the serious errors that are being made and protesting arbitrary, inhuman measures which do nothing but justify the condemnatory decisions that so scandalize those who adopt them (Chilean Christian Democrats)".

7428

CSO: 3010

ARTICLE OUTLINES GOVERNMENT'S HOUSING PROGRAM

Santiago EL MERCURIO in Spanish 25 Feb 78 p 3

[Text] Origin of Problem

Chile would have to build about 126,000 dwelling units annually for 10 years in order to resolve its housing crisis. This involves an investment of 10.2 billion dollars, an effort that could be achieved only if 8 percent of the national product were allocated to housing construction, compared to only 2.64 percent at present.

Although "housing shortage" is a diffuse concept, and arguments could be waved about to show that the above figures are exaggerated, it is a fact that the country has a very serious housing problem and that it will take decades to overcome it.

The housing problem burst upon Chile as a result of the industrialization process and accompanied the collapse of the financial system, which was brought on by inflation. Some three decades ago, housing construction was financed by issuing mortgage bonds that were sold on the market. Persistent inflation led to the gradual disappearance of that type of investment, which in its day contributed to considerable housing development.

For its part, the strategy of "inward" development generated an artificial industrialization that attracted manpower to the big cities, with the result that a growing problem was made more acute as a consequence of inflation. The protection of industry and the consequent penalization of primary activities created a concentration of population in the cities--a process that ended in the shantytowns. The country reacted to the housing shortage by stepping up government action and underestimating what private enterprise could have accomplished in this field.

Like the rest of Chile's economic activity, housing construction was gradually being subjected both to direct state management and to indirect control through the numerous means available for official action. The government effort was intense, but it was not able to solve the problem. On the contrary, the problem has apparently grown worse over the past few decades.

Inefficient Government Action

Over the past few decades the government has undertaken direct housing construction using its budget resources and the social security system. The 1960's saw the establishment of savings and loan associations, which have enjoyed strong government support in the form of external credits, tax contributions, and privileges in their capital market operations. The government also promoted construction activity through excessive tax exemptions, particularly those provided by DFL [decree with force of law] No 2 and the so-called Pereira Law.

The development of construction in Chile was therefore achieved by granting big subsidies in the form of face-value adjustments calculated at less than the rate of inflation, interest rates lower than those available on the market, tax benefits, and the donation of building sites and dwellings to a few low-income groups.

The system of subsidies was openly regressive, since the fact that they were granted by way of face-value adjustments and interest rates meant that poorer people received proportionately less benefit. This negative effect was made worse by the tax exemptions granted to construction firms.

Gradually the state came to control everything to such a point that construction was carried out under the direct management of government bureaucracy. That procedure led to high costs, an unfair distribution of the subsidies, and, perhaps most important, the elimination of private enterprise, since most of the contractors tended to be bureaucrats with a vested interest rather than businessmen capable of taking risks.

Direct intervention by the state caused the growth of peripheral zones in the cities, with the resulting cost of providing infrastructure and transportation. In the final analysis, that cost was borne by the entire population. The consumer had no right of choice, since allocations were made administratively. Large areas of the city declined rapidly, especially the older neighborhoods, which could not be renovated because housing loans were granted only for new construction.

Construction standards deteriorated visibly, and artistic considerations took a back seat in view of the demand for supposedly lower costs--a goal impossible of achievement, incidentally, owing to the system's rigidity and its bureaucratization.

One of the biggest defects in that housing policy was its cyclical nature, since the level of activity depended on how much money the government appropriated to housing from its budget. When a new administration took over, it would appropriate large sums, but later they would be reduced as the accelerated inflation caused by the larger expenditure made it essential to initiate austerity programs. The same process prevented the establishment of real construction firms and increased costs considerably.

The crisis in the system of state control came to a head in 1975, when the country was no longer able to allocate sizable funds from the national budget. That situation coincided with the virtual bankruptcy of SINAP [National Savings and Loan System], which came about because of improper financial management, one example being its practice of accepting sight funds and then lending them out for 30 years.

The year 1975 saw the culmination of the crisis in a system which from its earliest days had been condemned to failure by its extreme bureaucratic centralization, its regressive subsidies and tax exemptions, and financial management that ignored the indispensable rules of economic rationality.

Studies for coming up with a new system began in 1975. Only now is that system beginning to become a reality, as is clear from the statements made to our newspaper by Maj Arthur Clark, the current under secretary in the department involved.

New Housing Policy

The new housing policy is based on the rule that no special benefits will be granted to any except the most needy sectors. The system is designed to stimulate private activity, with the state doing no more than granting subsidies to the poorest groups and contributing funds to the extent that the principle of a balanced budget is not violated.

People can put their savings where they see fit and are free to choose the housing they want, subject, of course, to the limitations imposed by their income.

Work has begun to reorganize the role played by the state, which will limit itself to planning the development of cities and solving urbanization problems. A greater effort will be made to eliminate obstacles which increase building costs and which are related to the hookup of water, sewer, and electric services, miscellaneous municipal regulations, and title registration.

The activities of MINVU [Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs] have been rationalized, and SINAP's financial situation has been reorganized. This extends to the role of the commercial and development banks as middlemen in connection with housing funds. It is expected that for the most part, their intermediary role will be taken over in the future by adjustable mortgage bonds that the Central Bank will refinance with social security funds while the economy is being stabilized and interest rates are being normalized. A stable economy provides the only possibility of generating medium- and long-term savings that can finance housing construction in a sound manner.

The intention is to generalize the system of "turnkey" open bidding in order to reduce construction costs, shorten building times, and allow private enterprise to take over the design, location, and financing of construction

while also stimulating the availability of greater capital resources of national and foreign origin. This bidding system permits free choice by the user rather than the traditional allocations to housing properties whose arbitrary design and location coincide with public demand only by accident.

The fact that the financing may be used to buy new or old dwellings introduces a correction factor into the housing market that limits the possibility of arbitrary increases in the cost per square meter, which is what has occurred repeatedly over the past few years.

Under the new rules of the game, any person who has accumulated a certain amount of savings beforehand may apply for a house, provided that the house in question corresponds to the family unit's income level. Since it is considered appropriate to give additional help to the lowest income groups, a system of subsidies has been designed which, by providing the equivalent of 100,000 pesos to each saver, introduces an important social corrective. The new housing policy permits a free development of choices by savers and private businessmen who really want to do creative work. The technical formula that is beginning to be put into effect is going to produce excellent results because it attracts more private funds and utilizes a modern type of financial middleman.

It should be pointed out that if the planned policy is to be successful, it is essential that the government overhaul the restrictions which hinder and drive up the cost of construction and which discourage investments in this sector.

11798
CSO: 3010

COLOMBIA

GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCES MONETARY MEASURES

Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish 16 Feb 78 pp A-1, A-14

[Article by Jaime Horta: "Government Adopts Monetary Measures Package"]

[Text] Last night the national government adopted important measures basically aimed at opening bank credit and reducing the discount on the certificates of exchange by the Bank of the Republic.

These measures were agreed on at the end of the longest meeting of the Monetary Council this year which lasted for 6 hours. The measures consist basically of the following.

The ordinary interest of the banks was reduced by 1.5 points to free credit totaling some 1.2 billion pesos. The interest was 46.5 percent and is now 45 percent.

The banking establishments will be able to use the frozen resources from the 100-percent marginal interest as their own resources charged to the development credit.

The discount on the certificates of exchange was lowered from 7.5 percent to 7 percent in order to reduce its revenue which was causing problems in the capital market. Also its use was increased.

In addition, the rate of the dollar was increased from 35.81 pesos to 38.04 because of remission of ad-valorem taxes and customs duties.

The minister of finance, Alfonso Palacio Rudas, explained that opening the credit was adopted since the prospect of monetary expansion in the country has been sufficiently solved and he trusted that it will not have negative effects like increasing the cost of living.

The banking sector praised the government for opening the credit but felt that the measures adopted were inadequate and inconsistent with the financial assistance needs of the country.

Palacio Rudas also responded to criticism from leaders of the agricultural sector that the credit quotas assigned through the Agricultural Financial Fund are insufficient although he said that he has not received any official communication in that sense.

"As soon as we receive that communication, we will study the situation," he noted.

The minister of finance defended the mechanism of the certificates of exchange as instruments of monetary contraction, trusted that the adopted reforms would reduce their profitability and said that its duration depends on the government's intention to avoid a monetary surplus.

According to Resolution 10 of the Monetary Council the use of certificates of exchange was increased by 25 percent in the deposits before nationalization with the objective of increasing demand for those papers.

As to banking credit, it was restricted at the beginning of the year as part of the government strategy to reduce inflation that reached 25 percent last year.

To date the banking establishments have frozen resources of approximately 57 billion pesos with some 12 billion pesos from the 100-percent marginal interest and the remaining from ordinary interest. The credit opening takes effect today.

Reactions

Jorge Mejia Palacio, former minister of finance and present chairman of the Board of Directors of the Colombian Banking Association, felt that the 1.5-point reduction of the ordinary interest would total about 1 billion pesos.

He observed: "That amount is insufficient since the banks have been frozen as to what they can charge for ordinary credit for more than a year; during that time inflation plus the normal growth of the country totaled more than 40 percent.

"Therefore," he added, "1 billion pesos will not solve the credit shortage problem that the banking establishments have today."

Mejia Palacio said that in principle it is an attempt to "antedate the policy restricting credit but it seems insufficient to me given the needs of the country."

He indicated: "As to the certificates, it is acceptable that it is an attempt to equalize the revenue from this instrument with others

that attract savings. The certificates continue to be a necessary instrument of monetary policy and thus their existence cannot be endangered."

Measures

The measures related to banking credit and the certificates of exchange were adopted by Resolutions No. 8 and No. 9 of the Monetary Council whose texts are as follows.

Resolution No. 10 [as published]

The Monetary Council of the Republic of Colombia, in exercise of its legal prerogatives, especially those granted it by Decree Law 2206 of 1963 and Law 7 of 1973,

Resolves:

Article 1. That the legal interest of the banking establishments be decreased by 1.5 points on demand deposits in national currency for less than 30 days for amounts over 100 million pesos.

The reduction of interest established in this article will take effect on 16 February 1978.

Article 2. The amount of resources contributed by the banking establishments as cash on hand for the liquidation of the 100-percent interest mentioned in Article 3 of Resolution No. 2 of 1977, with the exception of that used for operations charged to the Agricultural Financial Fund and the Electric Development Fund, will be limited and can be maintained at the level recorded in the bank balance on 31 January 1978.

The increase of the resources contributed by the banking establishments over the balance on 31 January 1977 because of the rediscount of operations charged to the Agricultural Financial Fund and the Electric Development Fund will continue to be computed as cash on hand for the liquidation of the 100-percent interest mentioned in Article 1 of Resolution No. 2 of 1977.

Article 3. The Bank of the Republic and the banking supervisor will adopt the pertinent measures for the appropriate application of this resolution.

Article 4. This resolution amends Article 3 of No. 2 of 1977 and is in effect from the date of issue.

Given in Bogota on 15 February 1978.

Resolution No. 10 [as published]

The Monetary Council of the Republic of Colombia, in exercise of its legal prerogatives, especially those granted it by Articles 12 and 21 of Decree Law 444 of 1967,

Resolves:

Article 1. The Bank of the Republic will be able to acquire certificates of exchange offered it less than 90 days after issue with a discount of 7 percent on the rate of exchange in effect on the day of purchase.

Article 2. The deposit before nationalization ordered in Resolution No. 53 of 1976 and complementary regulations will be constituted as of the date of effect of this resolution as follows: up to 25 percent in certificates of exchange and not less than 10 percent in legal currency.

Article 3. The present resolution amends the pertinent parts of Articles 1 and 2 of No. 1 of 1978 and is in effect from 16 February 1978.

Given in Bogota on 15 February 1978.

7717

CSO: 3010

COLOMBIA

URANIUM SOUGHT IN EIGHT DEPARTMENTS

Bogota EL SIGLO in Spanish 14 Feb 78 p 12

[Text] The IAN [Nuclear Affairs Institute] in association with two foreign companies is presently exploring eight departments in the central-eastern part of the country for uranium ore as part of a uranium energy exploitation and export program.

In a report on the development of uranium mining in Colombia, the Ministry of Mines and Energy indicated the stages that government policy has followed to put the uranium exploration and exploitation program into operation and the present status of the program.

"Decree 137 of 1975 declared the areas of the country most likely to contain uranium as special reserves.

"Decrees 257 and 258 of 1976 established the Mining Law and amended the statutes of the IAN. It is now possible for decentralized institutes to be given areas in which to carry out mineral exploration and it is possible for the IAN to be given areas and exploit them by itself or in association with third parties.

"Decree 625 of 1976 expanded the reserved areas to be explored by the institute to cover most of the country.

"Foreign companies were asked to carry out initial prospecting with the IAN. These companies were AGIP [National Italian Oil Company] from Italy, ENUSA [National Uranium Enterprise, Inc.] from Spain, TOTAL [expansion unknown] from France and Urangesellschaft from West Germany.

"A policy of partnership contracts was agreed on based on contracts negotiated in other countries and those that the national government has for oil and coal.

"The model contract covers a period of up to 8 years, a development period of up to 4 years and an exploitation period of up to 20 years.

Great emphasis is placed on the participation of Colombian personnel and it is expected that the operator during the last 10 years of the exploitation period will be Colombian.

"The first partnership contract was signed on 13 December 1976 with TOTAL which was transferred to the French firm Minatone on 28 February 1977. Under this contract the IAN works in association with Minatone in the central region of the country--Huila, Tolima, Cundinamarca and Antioquia--with investments of \$2 million from the foreign company in 1977.

"On 22 July 1977 the second partnership contract was signed with the Spanish firm ENUSA to carry out exploration in Santander, Norte de Santander, Boyaca, Cundinamarca and Meta.

"Some areas that were considered promising in 1974--Zapatoca and California--have been reserved for exploration by the IAN or by national firms who know about uranium exploration. In Zapatoca exploration is expected to begin in 1978.

"With the participation of the IAN, ECOPETROL [Colombian Petroleum Enterprise], ISA [expansion unknown], CORELCA [Electric Corporation of the Atlantic Coast], ECOMINAS [Colombian Mining Enterprise] and INGEOMINAS [Geological Mining Research Institute], an industrial and commercial enterprise of the state will be created for the exploration and exploitation of uranium. This enterprise would be the counterpart of the foreign partners in the beginning and responsible for uranium exploitation and development later."

7717

CSO: 3010

COLOMBIA

PETROLEUM RESERVES ESTIMATED

Bogota EL SIGLO in Spanish 9 Feb 78 pp 1, 2

[Text] Colombia has 13 sedimentary basins with oil potential covering 716,000 square kilometers and barely 25 percent have been explored, according to a report made public by the Ministry of Mines and Energy analyzing the exploration program for the present year.

It also stated that evaluations made by ECOPETROL [Colombian Petroleum Enterprise] indicate that the country can count on recoverable reserves of 7 billion barrels under acceptable economic conditions. It is estimated that a program of superficial exploration and drilling to verify the possible reserves means an investment of \$1.5 billion at a rate of \$150 million per year.

Exploration Policy

Referring to present oil projects, Minister Eduardo Gaitan Duran stated in his report: "Colombia has never really explored its hydrocarbon resources; it has only carried out a tentative program at a very low level. Because of this serious situation, the present government has changed that nonexploration policy and has launched itself into aggressive exploration and drilling of oil wells. The geophysical exploration and the exploratory drilling has advanced at a very slow rate except for photogeological studies which have already covered almost 500,000 square kilometers--70 percent of the sedimentary basins.

"Throughout the history of oil in Colombia, only about 20 percent of those basins have been investigated."

Estimated Investment

The report added that "an investment of \$1.5 billion is needed to explore the rest of the sedimentary basins in the country superficially and through drilling. A 10-year exploration plan will require investments of \$150 million per year.

"The country has 13 sedimentary basins covering an area of 716,000 square kilometers capable of containing hydrocarbons. Only 181,570 square kilometers have been really explored--approximately 25 percent of the total.

"In accord with the results of the exploratory drilling up to the end of last May, 2,946,000,000 barrels of oil had been discovered. Only 982,000,000 remain to be produced.

"In order to learn whether the country has reached the situation of being a net importer of hydrocarbons or whether there are still undiscovered reserves to meet the present deficit and those in future years, ECOPETROL made statistical and volumetric evaluations that showed favorable results and estimated that the country might have recoverable reserves of about 7 billion barrels under acceptable economic conditions."

7717

CSO: 3010

COLOMBIA

PETROLEUM PROSPECTING: 57.6 MILLION DOLLARS THIS YEAR

Bogota EL SIGLO in Spanish 7 Feb 78 p 6

[Text] A total of 17 exploratory oil wells will be drilled this year in areas on the Atlantic coast, the Magdalena basin, Catatumbo and the Bogota plains, according to a program made public by the Ministry of Mines and Energy.

Referring to the general exploration and drilling plan of ECOPETROL [Colombian Petroleum Enterprise], the report indicated:

"It can be seen that there will be an extraordinary increase in superficial exploration with about 11,000 kilometers of seismic profiles, 20,000 kilometers of aeromagnetic profiles and about that many of geochemical profiles with a total investment of \$27,643,000.

"As to exploratory drilling, there is a plan to drill 17 wells with an approximate investment of \$30 million. In other words, \$57.6 million will be invested in 1978 while the total investment in exploration only reached \$32 million in 1977 and 1976."

The seismic operations will cover an area of 10,900 kilometers in areas of the Caribbean, Guajira, Atrato, Sinu, Cesar, Armero-Dorada, the Bogota plains and other areas.

Magnetometry will be done in areas of Atrato-Uraba and Cauca Valley and geochemical exploration will be done in the Caribbean and the Pacific.

Drilling of Wells

The drilling chart indicates the following locations. On the Caribbean and Guajira coast a well will be drilled on land in Bahia Honda and two wells off the coast at Carpintero and Punta Aguja.

In lower Magdalena exploratory drilling will be done in Ancon and the Martas. In central Magdalena wells will be drilled in Salvadera,

Albania and Sabalo and in upper Magdalena they will be in the areas of Suarez, Apicala, Melgar and La Paz.

The plans include the Catatumbo area with drilling in Gabarra and Cerro Gordo. In the Bogota plains wells will be drilled in Suesca, Yerbabuena and Madrid.

Large Oil Potential

The Ministry of Mines report showed the national potential for oil and gas through its topographical and geological configuration. It stated: "It is concluded that Colombia has good oil potential since there is a large area of sedimentary basins with abundant sandstone and limestone from the Tertiary and Cretaceous Ages. Superficial exploration can define the structures and stratigraphic traps in each basin capable of storing hydrocarbons--those that offer prospects of oil."

7717

CSO: 3010

FAR ORGAN ITEMS REFLECT CUBAN MILITARY OBJECTIVES

Interservice Academy Anniversary

Havana VERDE OLIVO in Spanish 12 Feb 78 pp 4-5

[Article by Lesmes La Rosa: "Fifteen Years in the Training of Officers"]

[Text] The activities commemorating the 15th anniversary of the founding of the General Antonio Maceo FAR Interservice Academy climaxed with a central ceremony held at the headquarters of that institution and presided over by Div Gen Senen Casas Regueiro, member of the party's Central Committee and first deputy minister-chief of the general staff.

The military parade grounds, beautifully decorated with red, blue and white flags and banners bearing inscriptions of a profound political and ideological nature, was the main scene of activity, which began with a flashy military review.

Riding in an open jeep, the head of the troops, Lt Col Jose A. De'Roux Dominguez, went forth to meet the official reviewer, Col Jose Palacios Suarez, director of the CEM [Military Training Center], who rode in from the other side of the parade grounds in another vehicle. At the point of encounter, the latter heard the report from the head of the troops, who accompanied him on his inspection of the units. Following the inspection, Colonel Palacios Suarez greeted the participants in this occasion of the 15th anniversary of the school, which was founded on 7 February 1963.

Then, marching with a firm step in time to the martial chords of the Invaders Anthem, the units, made up of officers, cadets from the different courses and areas of specialization and soldiers from the General Military Service paraded before the reviewing stand.

The main address was delivered by Div Gen Senen Casas Regueiro, who first of all emphasized that this center of military training had emerged, along with others in the country, during the early years of the revolutionary triumph, when the confrontation of classes, both of the internal enemy and the reactionary forces abroad, became more acute and violent.

He then pointed up the work done by the institution in its 15 years of teaching and military activity.

"In these years of self-sacrificing work, this center of military instruction has graduated 12 classes of cadets, 6 classes of advanced officers and several others in other areas of specialization. In addition, and as an integral part of the training of personnel, the school has performed other activities such as parades, military reviews and sports events, obtaining outstanding results."

He added:

"The changes that have been brought about in this institution over the past 15 years are the result of the self-sacrificing, daily, joint effort of the chiefs, officers, cadets, sergeants, soldiers and civilian workers who day after day have joined in the lofty task of training young officers."

In another portion of his address, Division General Casas Regueiro made reference to the internationalism practiced by the personnel at the military training center:

"We must make special mention of the active participation of our comrades of the school and its pupils for the fulfillment of the honorable duty of internationalism, for they have made their modest contributions to the struggle of other brother nations in keeping with the decisions of our party and the orders of the commander in chief."

With respect to Decree No 14 of the Executive Committee of the Council of Ministers which, among other aspects, places the institution in the category of center of higher education attached to the Ministry of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, the first deputy minister and chief of the general staff said:

"This is a fact of extraordinary importance in the development of this school and in addition to a recognition of the level acquired, it constitutes a stimulus and a commitment to achieve greater successes, make new efforts and constantly elevate the level of training of personnel in the professional, technical-scientific and political spheres."

He also praised the Soviet specialists, trained and educated in the glorious Soviet Armed Forces, who have given their knowledge and experience, thereby contributing to the achievements of the CEM.

Division General Casas Regueiro concluded his address with a moving salute:

"On behalf of the commander in chief and the minister of the FAR, we congratulate the school's staff, its teachers, the party organizations, the UJC [Union of Young Communists] and all personnel and we appeal to them to continue to contribute their efforts to the training of officers having the military, technical and political qualifications required by the important mission to

be performed by our Armed Forces in the defense of the conquests of the working people and the higher interests of socialism."

Also accompanying Div Gen Senen Casas Regueiro, member of the Central Committee of the party and first deputy minister and chief of the general staff, were Brig Gen Calixto Garcia, member of the Central Committee and head of the Military Department, Div Gen Abelardo Colome Ibarra and Div Gen Rigoberto Garcia Fernandez, both members of the Central Committee, and Francisco Cabrera Gonzalez, alternate member of the Central Committee, all deputy ministers of the FAR. Lt Gen Sergei Krivopliasov, head of the Soviet military specialists in our country, and other chiefs and officers of the FAR were also present.

Other Activities

During the tour of the General Antonio Maceo FAR Interservice School, the first deputy minister and chief of the general staff officially opened two important facilities: a modern tank barn and an attractive nursery.

The cadets also exhibited their physical and military training with the execution of a colorful gymnastics exhibition and a flashy military display that culminated with a gun salute in honor of the 15th anniversary of the center of military training.

Finally, the school staff received a message from Lt Gen Sergei Kripopliasov, head of the Soviet military specialists in Cuba, which said:

"Beloved friends, our brothers in arms, we wish you great future successes in your fine work aimed at the preparation and education of officers faithful to the Communist Party, the Revolutionary Government, their people and proletarian internationalism."

PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. p 5 [middle] Lieutenant Colonel De'Roux Dominguez, head of the troops participating in the military inspection, reports to the official reviewer, Col Jose Palacios Suarez.

FAR Training Period Begins

Havana VERDE OLIVO in Spanish 12 Feb 78 pp 6-7

[Article by Jorge Juvenal Balan and F. Almeida Baro: "Toward New Achievements"]

[Text] The 1978 period of training in the Revolutionary Armed Forces began with the holding of different events in the armies and other branches of the armed forces.

The context which serves as a framework for the period beginning includes various events which undeniably constitute ideological motivations of singular importance for the fulfillment of each of the tasks assigned: the preparatory work and the holding in our country of the 11th World Youth and Student Festival, along with the celebration of historic dates, such as the 60th anniversary of the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union, the centennial of the Baragua protest and the 25th anniversary of the attack on the Moncada Barracks.

Western Army

In the course of the different events held in units in this command, the officers, sergeants, soldiers and civilian workers reaffirmed their determination to be faithful guardians of the conquests of the working people through a greater strengthening of their combat and political training.

In addition, the political organizations issued bulletins in which they restated that they will provide the necessary backing to each of the assigned missions in order to maintain a high degree of combat readiness and mobilization.

During the celebration of the main event of this army, its commanding officer, Div Gen Pedro M. Garcia Pelaez, member of the Central Committee of the party, spoke.

Other officials presiding over the event were Jaime Crombet, member of the Central Committee of the party and first secretary in Ciudad de La Habana Province, and other chiefs and officers of the FAR and leaders of political and people's organizations.

Central Army

The Central Army's event was held on the parade grounds of military unit 1410, in recognition of the meritorious work done by its chiefs, officers, sergeants, soldiers and civilian workers.

The idea behind the event contained important objectives: to recognize the most outstanding participants in the Socialist Emulation and the Movement of Innovators; to deal with aspects having to do with the training and combat readiness of the units; compliance with the accords and resolutions of the party's First Congress; and paying a tribute of respect and admiration to the heroes and martyrs of our people.

The parade of the bearers of the "Triumph of the Revolution" and "Attack on the Moncada" banners, with the effigies of Fidel, Camilo and Abel Santamaria, was a moment of great emotion. The banners were granted to several small units which were outstanding in the completion of different tasks during the past year of instruction.

In summing up the event, Col Jose Milian Pino, head of the Central Army and a member of the party's provincial committee in Matanzas, said that "the training period that begins today requires of all of our officials, officers, sergeants and soldiers a high degree of responsibility and care in the completion of the different tasks we have before us."

Eastern Army

The activity of this army for the beginning of the new training period began officially with a military ceremony and was dedicated to the centennial of the Baragua protest, the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Armed Forces and the 20th anniversary of the opening of the Second and Third Fronts, as well as the invasion in the west by Camilo and Che and the 25th anniversary of the attack on the Moncada Barracks.

The event was presided over by Div Gen Abelardo Colome Ibarra, a member of the party's Central Committee, the Council of State and deputy minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces. Also present were Brig Gen Carlos Fernandez Gondin, Col Andres Rosendo Ojeda, Maj Gen Sergei Griasin, chiefs and officers of the FAR and representatives of the political and people's organizations.

Among the objectives of the Eastern Army for this period of training are the continuation of the improvement in the combat readiness of the troops, the systematic preparation of reservists and an improvement in the level achieved in the technical and political preparation of soldiers.

DAFAR [Revolutionary Air Force and Antiaircraft Defense]

Under the slogan "The Troops of the DAFAR: Toward New Victories in the Year of the 11th Festival," the units of this branch of the armed forces also began the new period of combat and political training with the holding of emotion-packed events. At each one, the officers, sergeants, soldiers and civilian workers reaffirmed their intention of doubling their efforts to contribute to the maintenance of a high level of combat readiness.

Revolutionary Navy (MGR)

The central event of this command was held on one of its flotillas and was presided over by RAdm Emigdio Baez Vigo and other chiefs and officers of the MGR.

During the activity, Corvette Capt Jose R. Negrin read the unit's commitment, marking the official beginning of the new training period.

In making his closing remarks, RAdm Emigdio Baez Vigo pointed out the tasks to be performed in this period in order to maintain the combat readiness of the MGR. He also said that it is important to continue to fulfill the accords and resolutions of the First Congress of the party.

DAFAR Missile Course

Havana VERDE OLIVO in Spanish 12 Feb 78 pp 11-12

[Article by Jose Casanas Reyes: "New Horizon for Youth"]

[Text] "For you, a realm of possibilities is opening up in which in the interest of the socialist nation, you may invest your maximum intellectual capabilities," said Div Gen Francisco Cabrera, alternate member of the party's Central Committee and deputy minister-chief of the DAFAR, in pronouncing the opening address of the missile and antiaircraft artillery courses for non-commissioned officers and lower-ranking officers respectively, which began on 4 February in one unit of this branch of the armed forces.

These courses will train young graduates of the different technological institutes in the national system of education, whose areas of specialization can be assimilated by the Revolutionary Armed Forces, in this case, the DAFAR, as sergeants and soldiers in the Active Military Service with the required levels of instruction.

Their creation emerged from the need to have technically skilled personnel in the intermediate levels for optimum use and care of the modern means of combat so as to improve even further the fighting ability and combat readiness of the units.

Of a short duration, the courses offer broad perspectives to the students, who enroll voluntarily, receive the rank of noncommissioned officers, and take an oath for 5 years, during which they have the opportunity to further their knowledge, and those comrades with an outstanding record during their period of service may even enroll in higher studies.

These courses, along with others beginning in the armies and other branches of the armed forces, are the result of a serious undertaking of the Revolutionary Armed Forces with a view to the future creation of what will be the Junior Officers Corps.

Event

The event that marked the beginning of the courses commenced with the reading of the Order of Creation of the Courses by Col Ramon Chong Sanchez.

On behalf of his student comrades, noncommissioned officer Arsenio Rodriguez Luna then read their commitment of honor, which emphasizes the high privilege which the students all have of defending their nation with arms, their firm determination to carry out all missions assigned to them and the irrevocable intention of earning the grade of "Good" in each and every subject included in the course.

In every activity in which our soldiers were involved, one could see their competitive spirit. Jorge Perez is one of the new soldiers who in the short time he has been in the FAR has been outstanding on several occasions.

"Through my membership in the FAR, I have fulfilled my aspiration of being able to wear the olive-drab uniform and hold in my hands the rifle that will accompany me as I defend socialism whenever necessary and under any conditions."

11,464

CSO: 3010

CUBA

PRIEST REPORTS OPPOSITION TO CUBAN 'REEDUCATION' OF ANGOLAN CHILDREN

Amsterdam DE TELEGRAAF in Dutch 21 Jan 78 p 17

[Article by Henk de Mari]

[Text] Startling revelation of missionary priest De Kinderen.

Cubans kidnap Angolan children to reeducate them.

Large-scale kidnaping of children by Cubans meets with growing resistance of Angolan people. The resistance of the churches also has increased during the last few weeks.

Last year 811 children were flown to Cuba for "reeducation." Carefully selected according to age, between 10 and 12 years old, most of them were taken away without parental permission.

Dutch mission priest Godfried de Kinderen, who broke the news about large-scale kidnapings toward the end of December, is almost daily receiving letters from Angola which show that in the so-called liberated territories there is growing resistance to the Cubans and Russians.

Father De Kinderen says: "One of the most recent messages I received dealt with last week's letter of the 11 Angolan bishops. In this letter the bishops show very courageous and very tough resistance to the most recent measures of the Cubans, who are gradually being seen to be the real oppressors."

Children subjected to reeducation in Cuba were taken mainly from the countryside. "Shepherd's children were actually enticed with candy to come along; all of a sudden the parents found them missing."

Failure with Students

This kidnaping operation began last year after the reeducation of "several hundred" Angolan students in Havana had proved a failure. Missionaries noticed that the Cubans had failed to brainwash most of the students. The student reeducation program has now been canceled; it remains limited to

Speech by Deputy Minister-Chief of DAFAR

In pronouncing the closing remarks, Div Gen Francisco Cabrera Gonzalez said that the young noncommissioned officers who are now students are being called upon to play a "decisive role in the improvement of the levels of mobilization, fighting ability and combat readiness of our units, the education and instruction of the sergeants and soldiers and in the improvement of their political and moral qualities."

In another portion of his remarks, the deputy minister-chief of the DAFAR emphasized the high honor students have of having been promoted to the rank of noncommissioned officer, since the rank embraces an entire hierarchy within the armed forces with a heroic history of struggles and the prestige, affection and admiration of the working people. He added that this shows the great confidence which the party and the FAR have placed in them, inasmuch as the rank of noncommissioned officer involves a serious commitment: being worthy of the trust through one's daily conduct.

Finally, Division General Cabrera Gonzalez emphasized: "We shall continue to move forward. We shall always defend our nation's skies. We shall fight imperialism in any place, under any condition and at any time. We shall abide by the honorable principle of proletarian internationalism. We shall strengthen ourselves in the political-ideological, moral and disciplinary areas and we shall prepare ourselves better for combat. We shall continue to carry out the accords and resolutions of the First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba. In the successful fulfillment of these missions, you, comrade noncommissioned officers and officers, will play an outstanding role."

Rearguard Emulation Results

Havana VERDE OLIVO in Spanish 12 Feb 78 p 54

[Article by Maria Elena: "Emulation in the Rearguard"]

[Text] A youthful, festive atmosphere reigned in the auditorium of the Naval Hospital when the Rearguard Headquarters revealed the results of the special emulation for the final quarter of 1977.

To the rhythm of the music and the applause, the representatives of Military Units 2778, 2840 and 3398 and the Industrial Enterprise of Articles and Clothing arrived at the speaker's platform to receive the streamers granted by the MINFAR [Ministry of the Revolutionary Armed Forces] preparatory committee to the most outstanding units in the 11th Festival emulation.

Why were the units so outstanding? First of all, because the work done by their members was meritorious, but their work was not measured by the cold results of the figures achieved in collections of funds or the number of objects put into packages or the quantity of political, cultural or recreational activities. In these units, the 11th Festival emulation was the ideological incentive of all the tasks. When it came time to collect funds, no one

thought about the amount of the sum, but rather, about which productive activity was the most necessary. The same thing was true of the packages. When the items were put together, concern was great because they represented the armed forces. The volume to be delivered was not the prime consideration.

For these units, the special emulation means obtaining a "satisfactory" rating in the exercises and maneuvers that are conducted: bringing the soldiers closer to the civilian population through political and cultural activities; improving and beautifying permanent facilities; going further in the knowledge of our history and our fighting traditions; in short, strengthening the troops ideologically.

DAFAR Supports Youth Festival

Havana VERDE OLIVO in Spanish 12 Feb 78 pp 54-55

[Article by Maria Elena: "Meetings of Support for UJC Appeal"]

[Text] The National Bureau of the UJC recently appealed to Cuban young people to work with the greatest enthusiasm to ensure that the activities in preparation for and the celebration of the 11th Festival are a complete success.

Since the appeal was made, young combatants from all over the country have been holding assemblies and meetings of support for the proposals formulated by the youth organization. Following the slogan "The DAFAR Defends the Skies of the 11th Festival," this branch of the armed forces has carried out its meetings of reaffirmation, presided over by chiefs and officers as well as officials from the party and UJC leadership.

"The task before us is a difficult and complex one, but we shall complete it and shall go forth proudly. Our commitment to the command, the party and the UJC must come first, that of increasing our fighting ability and readiness daily," say the young people in Military Unit 6051 in their communique.

For their part, the members of Military Unit 4217 pledged to continue to obtain satisfactory ratings on exercises and maneuvers, in addition to other commitments.

Pinar del Rio Army Corps Anniversary

Havana VERDE OLIVO in Spanish 12 Feb 78 p 55

[Article by Rolando Cantero: "17th Anniversary of Pinar del Rio Army Corps"]

[Text] The 17th anniversary of the Pinar del Rio Army Corps was commemorated with a political event held at the staff theater of the command, with the participation of chiefs, officers, sergeants, soldiers and civilian workers, along with representatives from the province's political and people's organizations.

Lt Col Hermes Ferras Perez read an order from the head of the Army Corps, who congratulated a group of combatants for the outstanding work they had done during the past year of training.

He also recognized the work of the Camilo Cienfuegos Preuniversity Vocational Institute in improving its mobilization and fighting ability and achieving good academic results.

The closing remarks were made by Lt Col Angel Alfonso Corono, who pointed out the numerous tasks completed by the members of the units of the Army Corps in keeping with the accords of the party's First Congress. He went on to underline the enthusiasm that inspired everyone to complete missions assigned with the highest quality.

Col Jesus Almeida Hernandez, head of the Army Corps and deputy to the National People's Government Assembly, presided over the event along with other chiefs and officers from the Pinar del Rio Province command.

New Recruits' Basic Training

Havana VERDE OLIVO in Spanish 12 Feb 78 p 55

[Article by Juvenal Balan: "Among the New Soldiers"]

[Text] In the Western Army, soldiers from the 15th callup of the General Military Service began the period preceding their active military training.

At the present time, the young men in the ranks of the FAR are following their program, which includes classes in the assembly and disassembly of rifles, infantry training and physical and political tactics, all areas which will contribute to the military preparation of the new soldiers. The program also includes a plan of recreational activities.

With New Soldiers

During a short stay with the new soldiers of Military Unit 4790, we were able to observe the interest and enthusiasm with which the young combatants received the military subjects being presented to them.

"I am happy because in joining the FAR, I know that I will be in a new school that will train me and help me to become a real soldier for my nation," said Felix Iglesias Galan, a member of the UJC.

Edenio Acosta Alvarez, also a member of the UJC from Ciego de Avila Province, expressed his opinion: "I shall do everything possible to carry out as a soldier the mission assigned to me in order to help defend this great revolution that we have been able to bring about thanks to the fight for independence of our predecessors."

study at the university after students have met stringent standards administered by the communist regime.

Father De Kinderen says: "They are now using more willing material. It is easier to influence young children and to educate them to become leaders of the future. It goes without saying that they will join an exclusively Marxist leadership."

Parents of kidnaped children, in the meantime, remain completely in the dark about the fate of their offspring. Nothing is ever heard of these children. They are still in Cuba, but if parents want to find out how their son is doing, they are sent from pillar to post without ever receiving an answer.

There are 24,000 Cuban troops in Angola. They are armed with heavy military equipment and are stationed in all villages and cities of the areas occupied by the MPLA government. Father De Kinderen met them every day during a 3-week tour through Angola for the Roman Catholic mission organization in Germany, Missio.

Reforms

In addition to these military forces there are, according to well-informed sources, 10,000 Cuban and East European experts at work in Angola to reform the country thoroughly. "Foreign" experts are found in all layers of society as well as in education.

Since education was taken away from the missionaries and became nationalized it has been used mainly for indoctrination. Teachers were replaced by Marxist atheists, and religious instruction is no longer permitted. The churches are now trying to provide education outside the schools.

Father De Kinderen disclosed that science is no longer taught in universities, ideology having taken its place. Students are replaced by workers. "Physicians working in Angola are downright incompetent. They are Cubans who studied medicine for one year. Mission hospital nurses are often obliged to correct their prescriptions."

War of Liberation

The war of liberation, still going on via actions by the UNITA, FNLA, and FLEC movements, which are fighting the omnidominant MPLA with arms supplied by South Africa, France, North Korea, and China, has claimed an estimated 1 million victims.

One million victims killed in battle, tortured to death, or summarily executed. Moreover, there are almost a million refugees, people who were forced to flee their villages because of the fighting and who are now barely subsisting. Father De Kinderen: "I have seen a lot of suffering in my profession, but the condition of these refugees is exceptionally serious."

There is hardly a thing to eat or drink. People are dressed in jute sacks. Despair, sickness and sorrow are rampant. It is frightening."

Angolan missionaries have recently made a complete description of the events which took place after the 700,000 Portuguese, the former colonialists, were forced to make room for the new colonialists, the Cubans and East Europeans. These Cubans and East Europeans are now living in the houses of the Portuguese who fled. Hardly any work is performed. The Portuguese did not leave any skilled workers behind.

Cattle raising and agriculture are all but dead. Herds of cattle have almost disappeared, and corn is grown in only very few places. The coffee harvest, which amounted to about 300,000 tons during the Portuguese colonial rule, dropped last year to a heretofore unknown low of 10,000 tons. It was used to pay the gigantic debt Angola now owes Russia and Cuba.

Empty Factories

According to Catholic priests in Angola, there are already 150 empty factories just in the area of the capital, Luanda. Father De Kinderen: "Flour, milk, sugar and machine factories--all are empty and half destroyed.

Cuban occupation forces dismantled entire plants and shipped them to Cuba. They stole X-ray equipment from hospitals and flew it to Havana. Beds, mattresses and machines followed. According to Father De Kinderen, the people are raising their voices in protest, as was the case in Bela Vista.

The hospital there was robbed of its operating room. MPLA leaders lodged a protest with the Cubans and were partially successful. A shipment came back from Cuba, but it consisted of obsolete and different instruments and operating tables.

Puppet

After consulting colleagues in Angola, Father De Kinderen insists that MPLA President Neto is now only a Cuban puppet. Since an attempt by the radical Nito Alves to overthrow the government was ruthlessly suppressed on 27 May of last year, Neto has been living in a Cuban army camp 20 kilometers from Luanda. He has Cuban bodyguards. It is said that Fidel Castro himself gave the orders to suppress the attempt to overthrow the government. There are reports that thousands of victims were then summarily executed.

De Kinderen: "Amnesty International visited me here in Aachen to gather data on political prisoners. All we know is that there are many political prisoners; we learned this from nuns who occasionally are allowed to visit them. However, their numbers and locations are unknown to us."

Nito Alves had many government workers among his followers. All of them were taken away, and nothing has ever been heard of them; they were replaced by Marxists.

Nothing to Buy

De Kinderen says: "Three weeks of roaming through Angola reminds one of the Russian regime and system many years ago. There is absolutely nothing for sale; if imported meat is being sold somewhere, people sometimes stand in line a full day. Money no longer has any value; the government therefore raised wages, but nothing can be bought with the money.

I met people who carried a chicken under their arm. When we stopped and asked how they had obtained these chickens, the answer was: "Bartered for clothing." In this land, where the tragic past looms like a haunting ruin, not a shred of textile is for sale."

Hatred toward the Portuguese before this so-called independence has been replaced by internal hatred of at least the same intensity. Numerous disputes between tribes are now being settled in the midst of the political warfare, and this obscures the real situation. According to experts on African issues, it will take generations before peace can be restored.

About 50 percent of all Angolans, who originally numbered 6 million but are now reduced to 5 million, are Christians. Under the present circumstances they look for and find firm support in their church, because "after the communists took over it never betrayed the trust the people had placed in it during the colonial period."

Father De Kinderen: "Angolan churches were always strongly in favor of independence, even during the Portuguese rule. They always supported fighters for freedom. They are still doing that very conspicuously. Their aversion to the new authorities manipulated by Moscow and Havana is just as deep."

Immunity

President Neto knows that as well as Fidel Castro that the Angolan bishops are inviolable, which is not in accordance with Marxist philosophies, but for all practical purposes nothing can be done against them. The bishops even have diplomatic immunity.

Father De Kinderen says: "It is therefore of the utmost importance that the bishops have now clearly brought to the authorities' attention that they will not tolerate certain things. This includes acts against human rights which the MPLA and the new oppressors, the Cubans and East Europeans, are constantly and repeatedly committing.

"If education is no longer free from interference, people are killed or imprisoned for political reasons, the nation is oppressed, and Christians are not allowed to participate in the reconstruction of society, human rights are violated."

According to Father De Kinderen, the communist government is indeed taking the power and influence of the church seriously. This is apparent from the

following: "The MPLA freedom movement established a new party of the same name as a party of the elite. They made it openly known that membership would be restricted to Marxist atheists. The new party is of course destined to occupy all key positions in the country and in the government.

"However, letters I have recently received inform me that since the bishops have spoken out such provocative announcements have suddenly stopped. This is an exceptional and remarkable sign."

Father De Kinderen also took a moment to find out what happened to Dutch development aid to the MPLA provided by ex-Minister Pronk. His efforts were in vain. The money had disappeared, and nobody wanted to or could tell how that had happened.

The Angolan mission discussed and pondered at length the question of whether Father De Kinderen should make these facts public in behalf of priests and missionaries in Angola or whether he should remain silent, as happened in Uganda. It opted for publicity.

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CUBA

PRESS HIGHLIGHTS SERIOUS SUGAR HARVEST SITUATION, PROBLEMS

Castro Cites Problem at Meeting

Havana GRANMA in Spanish 25 Feb 78 p 1

[Text] Havana (AIN)--The first secretary of the party's Central Committee and chairman of the State Council and the Council of Ministers, Commander-in-Chief Fidel Castro, officiated at a meeting held in this capital to analyze the current sugar harvest and the activities in cane agriculture.

During the meeting, a detailed examination was made of the 1978 sugar campaign, and several measures were adopted aimed at guaranteeing fulfillment of the plans assigned to the respective provinces.

In delivering the closing remarks, the party's first secretary explained the need for making an extraordinary, sustained effort during the next 100 days, urging that all problems be surmounted and agroindustrial efficiency increased, in the same spirit with which our nation's men and women perform internationalist missions.

Participating in the analysis were Poliburo members Juan Almeida, Ramiro Valdes, Guillermo Garcia, Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, Osvaldo Dorticos, Jose Ramon Machado Ventura, Pedro Miret and Arnaldo Milian.

Also in attendance were deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers, ministers, first secretaries of the provincial committees and other party leaders, as well as leaders of the UJC [Union of Young Communists] and of the mass organizations, and both national and provincial administrative officials.

CTC Leader Responds

Havana GRANMA in Spanish 27 Feb 78 p 2

[Excerpts] CTC [Central Organization of Cuban Workers] Resolves to Convoke the "100 Days of Decisive Effort in Tasks of the Sugar Harvest and Cane Agriculture" Movement

"We shall comply in the same spirit with which Rebel Radio on one historic occasion complied with its obligations, and in the same spirit with which other fellow countrymen of ours are now worthily complying with their internationalist obligations." Roberto Veiga.

Speech delivered by Roberto Veiga, member of the party's Central Committee and secretary general of the CTC, at the ceremony marking the 20th anniversary of Rebel Radio, held on 24 February 1978, "Year of the 11th Festival," at the "Lazaro Pena" Auditorium:

"Comrades:

"We Cuban workers and all the people commemorate today, with a deep sense of satisfaction and legitimate pride, the 20th anniversary of the creation of Rebel Radio.

"Today, as was the case 20 years ago, there are trenches to defend, columns to guide, fronts to consolidate and lines to strengthen.

"Today, the labor movement of all the workers confirms its unswerving determination to defend them, guide them, consolidate them and strengthen them, with the same spirit in which Rebel Radio did so at its time in history.

"In this very sugar harvest, we are faced with difficulties in fulfilling the sugar production plan. There have been lags therein, and these have been due, in large measure, to the constant, repeated rainfall that we have had.

"It is vital to the country that we make up for this lag, starting now and during the next few months; and that we likewise fulfill the plans for bulldozing, soil preparation, planting, cultivation and fertilization in cane agriculture.

"A special effort will have to be made, starting right now. The work that we do during the next few months is critical to the tasks involved in the sugar harvest and cane agriculture as a whole; and, therefore, to the entire country.

"To make up for our lag in fulfilling the sugar production plan, as well as that noted in cane agriculture as a whole, is decisive to the country, to our people, to their economic development and to the meeting of our international commitments.

"For this reason, the CTC has decided to hold an extensive discussion in the next few days, brigade by brigade, lodging place by lodging place, sugar mill by sugar mill and worker by workers, in order to analyze this situation and promote the conscious support of all our working class for this great endeavor.

"We know that, as always, the workers will respond in an enthusiastic, aggressive manner to this crucial need of the revolution.

"The CTC has also resolved to convoke the '100 Days of Decisive Effort in Tasks of the Sugar Harvest and Cane Agriculture' movement.

"The commemoration of May Day this year must be marked by a massive, organized and enthusiastic mobilization of workers to perform this fundamental task, for the purpose of increasing the productivity and attendance at the activities involving in cutting and loading cane; so as to prevent any absences for any reason from work on weekends which would cause a decline in the grinding on those days.

"International Workers Day must be marked by the conscious determination of all our workers and all the people to react strongly against the rain, and to honorably perform the tasks that we have set for ourselves in sugar production. The determination that must prevail will be to make up for the lag that has occurred in the sugar harvest, and to fulfill the cane agriculture plans, displaying a constant effort, without letup or rest, and progressing with unprecedented success in the million-arroba movement and in organizing and developing the sugar harvest emulation.

"We shall assume this task with the determination to perform it under any circumstances, and we shall cut, load and grind cane. We shall also prepare soil, plant, cultivate and fertilize in March, April and May, and also in June, if necessary. We shall do this with rain or without rain. The adversities of the weather will be offset by the invincible will of our working class and all the people to struggle.

"That is the honorable mission which the fatherland has assigned to us today; that is the great task which the party has cited for us today. We shall comply in the same spirit with which Rebel Radio on one historic occasion complied with its obligations, and in the same spirit with which other fellow countrymen of ours are now worthily complying with their internationalist obligations.

"The shout of 'Rebel Radio here!' in the past, during the difficult, heroic days of the oppressed fatherland, meant 'La Demajagua here!', 'Baire here!', 'Moncada here!', 'Granma here!'

"The shout of 'Rebel Radio here!' later, during the glorious, heroic times of the victorious struggle against imperialist aggression, meant 'Playa Giron here!'

"The shout of 'Rebel Radio here!' today, at this time of incessant work and victorious struggle for the construction of the new society, means 'the party here!', 'creative work here!', 'the struggle for greater economic efficiency here!', 'socialism here!', 'communism here!', 'internationalism here!', 'Angola here!', here: whenever, wherever, however and for whatever purpose, 'Commander-in-Chief, we are at your service! Fatherland or death, we shall conquer!'

Various Provinces Respond

Havana JUVENTUD REBELDE in Spanish 28 Feb 78 p 1

[Text] Several provinces in the country have announced the goals to be attained during the movement of 100 days of extraordinary effort, in a fitting response to the proposals made by Commander-in-Chief Fidel Castro concerning making up for the lag in sugar production.

Miguel Cano Blanco, member of the party's Central Committee, and its first secretary in Holguin, announced that the goals set by that province include the mobilization of 4,000 cutters for cane cutting, particularly at the sugar mills located in the low-lying areas.

A special impetus will also be given to the work of soil preparation, planting, cultivating and fertilizing the cane plantations which are to be harvested during the 1979 and 1980 grinding.

Making Up for Their Lags

The Las Tunas political and administrative leaders have adopted a set of measures aimed at increasing the grinding during the present sugar harvest and making up for the lag that has occurred.

At a meeting chaired by Faure Chomon, member of the party's Central Committee and its first secretary in the province, it was reported that, although a certain amount of improvement had been noted, an intensive drive was necessary to assign the masses the job of fulfilling this year's sugar program.

A mass discussion will be held of a plan aimed at aiding the factories with skilled personnel and putting the necessary forces in each location to work in the sugar harvest.

Greater Productivity

Jose Ramon Balaguer, member of the party's Central Committee and its first secretary in the province of Santiago de Cuba, cited the attainment of greater productivity among the forces participating in the harvest and stabilization of the grinding as some of that province's goals during the movement of extraordinary effort.

He said that a prompt, forceful response was necessary to cope with the obstacles that had been posed by the rainfall; and also mentioned the need for close coordination of the loading and hauling activity.

He appealed to the mass organizations for support to this harvest, and said that the activities to prepare for future grinding must be intensified.

Fulfilling the Plan

Granma's sugar and agricultural workers propose to meet their goals in the current sugar harvest, in response to Fidel's appeals.

At a meeting chaired by Emilio Loo Hernandez, member of the party's Central Committee and its first secretary in this province, and attended by all the individuals responsible for completing the grinding, the decision to fulfill the sugar production and planting plans was reaffirmed.

The 96 cutter brigades of the Granma Agricultural Workers Union have taken the necessary steps to meet their production goals at meetings held in all the camps.

In Pinar del Rio

The labor movement and the ANAP [National Association of Small Farmers] in the province of Pinar del Rio have held discussions on all levels concerning the measures to be adopted to guarantee the sugar production plans established for this region of the country during the present sugar harvest.

The Vuelta Abajo cutting forces have devoted their efforts, particularly now during this movement, to keep their commitments and to overfulfill them, so as to offset any adverse effects which the weather might cause.

Overfulfilling Every Day

Humberto Miguel Fernandez, the party's first secretary in Cienfuegos, announced that every director and worker was ready to overfulfill his commitment to the sugar harvest every day, in response to the appeal made by the commander-in-chief.

They were urged to complete the assigned cutting each day, including Sundays, so as to keep the grinding at a high and stable rate. He also appealed to them to take better care of the cutting, loading and hauling equipment, so as to reduce the rate of breakage therein.

At the same time, he said that it was essential to complete the programs for soil preparation, planting, weeding and fertilization, so as to insure the increased planned for the grinding during the next 2 years.

They Gave Up Their Leave

About 400 cutters in Matanzas province gave up their leave this weekend, and the farming forces overfulfilled their daily delivery plan of 864,000 arrobas on Friday, Saturday and Sunday, in response to the appeal made to engage in the 100 days of extraordinary effort during this sugar harvest.

The Executive Committee of the Provincial People's Assembly gave instructions for an intensification of effort in the tasks related to the present

grinding, as well as for increased efficiency in the other activities associated with production and services.

'GRANMA' Editorial Frontpages Appeal

Havana GRANMA in Spanish 28 Feb 78 p 1

[Text] The analysis that was made at the recent national sugar harvest meeting chaired by Comrade Fidel demonstrated that the present sugar harvest is lagging to a considerable extent.

The situation is serious, and all the workers, the party, the unions and the administration should be aware of it, and take the steps that they deem necessary.

As a matter of principle, the country cannot fail to fulfill its sugar production plan for this year. Our economy, which in the midst of great difficulties and on the basis of a very stringent policy of austerity and planning, has managed to cope with the effects of the crisis in the capitalist world in the past few years and to make progress, demands it.

In this sugar harvest, a sizable increase in production has been planned, which means more resources for the country. All that sugar is already committed. Hence, not only the most vital economic interest but also the reputation and reliability of Cuba impose upon us the obligation to guarantee these deliveries of our sugar to the USSR, other socialist and friendly nations and all the markets for it. We have more than enough cane to meet these goals.

The abnormal rainfall has been upsetting the output and the grinding in many locations. This is an objective fact, but not all the failures to fulfill plans are explained by the rain alone.

There are factors which depend on the effort, organization and capacity of the individuals, factors which can even offset and take precedence over the adversities of the weather; and it is on them that we must place emphasis.

Sometimes there is a slowness in recovering and raising the grinding levels after they have been affected by the rain.

The decline in the cutting, loading, hauling and grinding on weekends and at the beginning of the week is a particularly disturbing situation, which has actually caused us to lose nearly one working day per week. This reflects the danger of another 15-day lag between now and the end of the campaign, which we must and can avoid by adopting timely measures so that the sugar harvest will be, as it should, a continuous, steady process that is not subject to breakdowns.

In provinces such as Matanzas, Cienfuegos and Havana, there is constant grinding every day of the week. In Camaguey province, the party has taken a series of steps in recent weeks which have helped to achieve a high, stable grinding rate as well.

The six provinces in which the status of the sugar harvest is most critical are, in this order: Las Tunas, Villa Clara, Holguin, Camaguey, Ciego de Avila and Granma.

It is essential that in all provinces, but these in particular, the efforts be redoubled to attain grinding that is at a high and stable rate, and efficient. As of 20 February, the attainment of the cumulative potential standard in these and other provinces was under 80 percent, and their industrial output was instable.

One important, urgent problem to be resolved is the attainment of the full complement of manual cutting forces, because there is currently a shortage of some 8,000 men, nationwide, to be incorporated into the cane-growing areas.

Concurrently with this, we must continue without letup the battle to increase productivity and the attendance of the various forces at the cutting, both of which are still low in some provinces. In particular, discussions must be held and the professional cutters and farmers, two stable, experienced forces, must be convinced of the need to make better use of the day, to do away with the so-called "extended shift," and to put in two work-days on the cutting.

The performance of the daily task and its strict supervision at each track-side cane station, in each cane preprocessing and collection station, in each brigade, in each machine platoon, in each loading team and at each sugar mill must become an ineluctable matter of principle.

It is imperative that all advisable measures be adopted to reinforce the sugar harvest at the sugar mills located in low-lying areas; to increase the manual cutting forces if weather conditions hamper the work of the machines; to make carts available to increase the hauling by oxen and tractors; and to prepare from now on, especially at the sugar mills with the most cane and those which are lagging most, to grind even until the beginning of June, and to complete the sugar harvest, with rain or without it.

In view of the lag that exists, the entire country must prepare for the possibility of having to grind more cane and to extend the sugar harvest until the plan is fulfilled.

This is why it is essential that, together with grinding to the maximum capacity, every sugar mill continue to grind so long as any grindable cane is left.

From now on, we must study the transfers of cane that might be advisable to the sugar mills which have finished earlier.

Hence, the sugar industry must prepare for a long sugar harvest, under rainy weather conditions. There must be a reduction in the "time lost" as a result of weeding and maintenance, and operational breakdowns; and the time spent on repairing equipment that has been broken must be shortened. There must be a cut in fuel consumption, and industrial efficiency must be improved, particularly at the sugar mills with the lowest recovery.

Furthermore, there is also a lag in sugar exports. The main problems to be resolved in this area are of an organizational nature or relate to transportation. A serious effort will have to be made in this respect as well.

But it is not only the tasks relating to this sugar harvest that are involved. There is also a considerable lag in the work to prepare for the 1979 and 1980 sugar harvests. There have been gaps and delays in the work of bulldozing, and in soil preparation, planting, cultivation and fertilization. This has jeopardized the plans to add new areas in the next few years.

This latter point reflects the tendency toward finishing that is evident among some of our cadres, who allow the commitments to accumulate so as to keep them at the last minute. By so doing, although they fulfill the plan that has been set, in most instances they do so at the cost of quality in their work. We must strive to eliminate such habits, and to establish an organized, foresighted type of management.

From this moment on, the country must apply the measures that have been indicated to insure the fulfillment of the sugar production set for this year under any circumstances.

The next 100 days are the most critical, and we must call upon all the sugar harvest workers and all our people to make an extraordinary, sustained and truly heroic effort during this period.

During these 100 days which are the most critical, we must guarantee the success of this sugar harvest, without fail, and overcome the lags in cane agriculture.

Our party and UJC members must set the best example of discipline, aggressiveness and sacrificial spirit, and must strive untiringly to attain these goals.

The CTC and the unions, the ANAP, the Youth Labor Army, the FMC [Cuban Womens Federation] and the CDR [Committees for Defense of the Revolution] can offer extraordinary assistance by mobilizing, instructing and explaining to the workers, farmers and all the people the need for this special effort.

Our party leadership entities and administration will devote the maximum attention to this task. We must publicize the positive experience of provinces such as Matanzas and Cienfuegos, where a high level of cohesion, coordination and unification of all factors in both industry and agriculture has been achieved and, at the same time, an effective ideological endeavor and an effort to provide for the individual on each job site have also been under way. All this has helped to convert the sugar harvest into a task of masses, which is being executed by the state agencies that are responsible for it and under the party's systematic orientation and control.

These 100 days, including the months of March, April, May and part of June, will take in, among others, 3 March, the Day of the Million-Arroba Movement, 8 March, International Women's Day; 13 March, the anniversary of the storming of the old Presidential Palace; 15 March, the Centennial of the Protest of Baragua; Giron Day, May Day and 17 May, Peasant's Day. Let us pay genuine proletarian and communist homage to these glorious dates! Let us pay the most worthy and revolutionary tribute to the 11th World Festival of Youth and Students, and to the 25th anniversary of the storming of Moncada Barracks!

The fatherland and the revolution have assigned us this task. We are confronting it at a time when thousands of other Cubans, far from our land, are discharging their sacred internationalist obligations with honor and selflessness. That mission is glorious and important, as the one which must now be performed within the country is likewise glorious and important. Let us know how to worthily match the effort of those fellow countrymen who are raising the banners of solidarity and the name of Cuba aloft.

Therefore, the response to the appeal of our party and of Fidel must be this: We shall wage the decisive battle of the sugar harvest during these 100 days with the same courage, steadfastness, enthusiasm, spirit of victory and dedication to duty that our heroic internationalists have!

Port Congestion Delays Shipments

Havana GRANMA in Spanish 27 Feb 78 p 4

[Text] In view of its great dependence on foreign trade and the country's insular status, the development of the Cuban economy attaches particular significance to port activity. The maritime terminals are the frontiers through which the means of development arrive.

The pace of Cuba's foreign trade and that of the maritime traffic between our country and its markets can be determined on the basis of the dynamics which characterize our economy.

As a result of political and economic conditions, the locations of our principal markets have changed, and they are now situated at great distances: Europe, Asia and Africa. The ships arriving in our ports are of a larger size than our terminals were accustomed to handling.

This implies the arrival in our ports of large volumes of goods which must be unloaded in the least possible time.

The storage capacities of our maritime terminals and our internal economic agencies do not yet meet the needs of this foreign trade.

This is why all the factors involved in the port-transportation-internal economy chain must be intensified, so as to avoid the fatal stocking up of goods in the port terminal warehouses.

Failure to remove the goods stored in the ports in due time causes congestion and hence a limitation on the operating capacity. The function of a port is to handle goods and store them for short periods of time. A maritime terminal must never become a permanent storage area, because this has a considerable adverse effect on the economic management of the enterprise and that of the nation as well.

This entire phenomenon which can cause large buildups of goods required for our economy could be reduced by making maximum use of the storage capacity of the agencies of the internal economy, speeding the unloading of the automotive facilities in the warehouses to give the equipment greater rotation, making optimum use of ground transportation and speeding the unloading in the ports.

The ships must be unloaded more quickly and efficiently, and the rate of removal of goods to the internal economy must be kept on a par with the rate of handling in the port.

When this is achieved, the results will be: better port operations and faster use of products with a minimal possibility of damage and spoilage, all combined with extremely important economic considerations which will unquestionably help to allow the resources required for our development to penetrate the Cuban frontiers, its ports, with greater speed and economic efficiency.

A port with goods stocked up cannot operate ships efficiently, because the goods that are unloaded cannot be handled with the necessary speed; and this causes demurrage for the ships and a resultant payment of demurrage charges in foreign exchange.

If we take into account the fact that we are at the height of the sugar harvest, and that it ends in the ports, the need for rapid unloading of goods becomes evident; because the majority of those vessels will be carrying our sweet product on their return trip. The sugar must be delivered at the proper time and in the proper manner. The international commitments must be kept; that is an obligation for everyone.

Hence, we must avoid congestion in the ports, for we thereby help to attain all these goals. It must be repeated time and time again that congestion

can be reduced or eliminated by making maximum use of the storage capacity in the internal economy, accelerating the unloading of the automotive facilities in the warehouses, making optimal use of the ground transportation equipment and keeping the rate of unloading in the ports at a high level.

In short, this is an endeavor for which all the factors involved in the port-transportation-internal economy chain must intensify all their efforts.

Response from Leading Sugar Mill

Havana GRANMA in Spanish 27 Feb 78 p 3

[Text] As on previous occasions, every time our party's commander-in-chief has demanded extra effort, the agroindustrial sugar workers have responded vigorously and forcefully to the appeal to make up for the lag in the 1978 sugar harvest and the fulfill the production plans in all provinces.

The first responses came a few hours after the publication of the results of the national meeting at which the progress of the current campaign were analyzed and Comrade Fidel issued an appeal for an increase in all the sugar harvest work during the next 100 days.

At the workers' housing compound of the "Friendship With Peoples" Sugar Mill, which was proclaimed the best in the country in Category A during January as a result of its high efficiency indexes, the workers on the shift which ended at 1100 hours on Saturday morning and some of those arriving at that time congregated.

There, the Sugar Workers Union symbolically initiated the crash program of assemblies in the 148 sugar mills and all units of the sector.

Luis Martell said that the site for the immediate response to the commander-in-chief's proposals could not have been a better one, if we consider the 89.31 percent absolute recovery by the "Friendship With Peoples" Sugar Mill, its high and stable rate of grinding, the small amount of time lost, the fact that it has not consumed additional fuel (it uses only bagasse) and the enthusiasm, discipline and aggressiveness of its workers.

The union leader said that he expressed the sentiments of the over 90,000 members when he stated: "The men and machines will not stop until the sugar production plan is fulfilled in each of the provinces."

He remarked: "Comrade Fidel can trust us sugar workers of Jesus Menendez who, during these 100 days, will grind more cane, all the cane that reaches us; we shall obtain more sugar, and we shall not think of resting until this decisive battle for our economy is won."

Whereupon there was lengthy applause and a repetition of the revolutionary slogans. Martell continued: "The battleground is the sugar harvest; it is

the Sierra of 20 years ago, Playa Giron of 17 years ago and Angola of 2 years ago."

Heriberto Alfonso, union leader and brigade chief of the cane receiving platform area, spoke on behalf of the group, confirming the fact that they would strive to raise the present efficiency indexes. He announced that, on that very day, they had processed to the peak of their potential capacity; which proved the status of the factory and the aggressive spirit of those in charge of the cutting, loading and hauling.

In addition to its impressive recovery rate, the "Friendship With Peoples" Sugar Mill fulfilled its sugar production plan by 116 percent in January, with a quality index of 99.13 and a cost per ton of raw sugar that was far below what had been anticipated.

This is without doubt an exemplary sugar mill, heading the group of all those which were the giants in recovery (over 86 percent) in the special sugar harvest emulation.

People's Government Takes Action

Havana GRANMA in Spanish 27 Feb 78 p 3

[Text] Bayamo--The Municipal People's Government Assembly here resolved to respond to Fidel with a supreme effort during the next 100 days of the sugar harvest, a resolution which it adopted at its first regular session this year, attended by Guillermo Garcia, member of the party's Politburo and deputy chairman of the State Council.

The 112 delegates present ratified the proposal to mobilize (during the next 100 days of effort) as many comrades as necessary, and to improve the attendance and punctuality of the volunteer and professional cutters, as well as making maximum use of the cane harvesting machines.

The resolution that was passed states that, owing to adverse conditions, the "Arquimedes Colina" Sugar Mill failed to grind over 2 million arrobas of cane.

The assembly approved the report wherein an account was rendered by the executive committee at the sixth regular session held from December of last year until the present, a period in which 46 of the 48 resolutions that had been adopted were fulfilled.

In the analyses that were made, it was explained that 300 assemblies had been held in the districts, at which the delegates rendered accounts to their constituents, attended by over 63,900 citizens, who brought up various problems relating to construction, commerce, the restaurant and hotel industry, communal services, transportation, public health and other areas.

Also present at the assembly were Emilio Loo, the party's first secretary in Granma; Pedro Garcia, chairman of the Provincial People's Government Assembly; and Luis Lara, the party's first secretary in Bayamo.

ANAP Relays Call to Peasants

Havana GRANMA in Spanish 27 Feb 78 p 3

[Text] In response to the proposals made by the first secretary of the party's Central Committee and chairman of the State Council and the Council of Ministers, Commander-in-Chief Fidel Castro, regarding the need to expend an extraordinary, sustained effort over the next 100 days to guarantee the successful completion of the present sugar harvest, the National Executive Bureau of the ANAP [National Association of Small Farmers] calls upon all its intermediate organizations, rank and file entities, cutter brigades, loading and hauling operators, FMC [Cuban Women's Federation]-ANAP brigades and all small farmers, regardless of the agricultural work that they are doing, to intensify all their efforts to fulfill once again their commitment to the fatherland.

During the next 100 days, we must set for ourselves as an ineluctable goal not resting a single day, so as to guarantee the cutting and hauling of all the cane that has been scheduled for the farming forces, so as to insure a full supply of raw material to the sugar mills, thereby achieving stable grinding; and, in addition, performing all the tasks related to cane agriculture, as well as providing for other vital areas such as the tobacco harvest, coffee cultivation and supplies of green vegetables and tubers.

During the first months of the present sugar campaign, the farming forces have made a constant effort, which resulted in 95 percent of the cutters qualifying for the million-arroba movement, over 400 brigades which have already completed several steps toward the million, while 30 exceeded that figure and 16 have progressed in meeting the commitments which they made to win the special "Jesus Menendez" Award.

Despite these gains, it is necessary, as Fidel remarked, to make an extraordinary effort so as to make up for some of the lag that has occurred as a result of a difficult weather situation and certain organizational factors. In this connection, the ANAP proposes a set of concrete measures aimed at improving even more the farming sector's fulfillment of plan, which include:

An analysis by each cane brigade, cutter by cutter, of the factors which they should guarantee to lend a greater impetus to the sugar harvest;

An improvement in the organization and work of the rearguard forces, so that they may facilitate the work of the cutters even more, while increasing their output in the agricultural work involving cane and other crops;

A redoubling of the effort of the FMC-ANAP brigades, as an effective auxiliary force for the cane brigades;

An organization of the hauling by oxen and carts from now on, so as to successfully cope with the rainfall, and to collaborate with the mechanized hauling wherever necessary;

A guarantee that, wherever there are lags in the planting, weeding and fertilization of the cane, the farmers will make effective use of the traditional resources, so as to complete these tasks which are vital to the forthcoming sugar harvests;

The setting of specific goals for the cane brigades in honor of the 13th anniversary of the million-arroba cutting movement, International Women's Day, the Victory of Playa Giron, May Day and 17 May.

With these and other practical measures that will be adopted in each province, depending on their specific features, we are certain that during this 100-day period when an impetus will be given to the sugar harvest, the farmers who have always, throughout history, responded to the call of the fatherland, will once again play their important role. Forward, farmers, to obey Fidel and the party in this sugar harvest 100-day movement!

Let us perform the work on the cane and the agricultural work as a whole with the same spirit in which our nation's men and women are performing internationalist missions.

Fatherland or death; we shall conquer!

National Executive Bureau, ANAP.

Agricultural Workers Union Support

Havana GRANMA in Spanish 27 Feb 78 p 3

[Text] The Executive Secretariat of the National Union of Agricultural Workers, in an internationalist spirit, resolved to authorize the effort of all the professional workers engaged in manual cutting, or in mechanized cutting, loading and hauling, and of all the union's cadres during the 100 critical days when an impetus will be given to the sugar harvest, in response to the appeal made by the party's first secretary, Comrade Fidel, at the meeting to analyze the sugar harvest.

In order to implement this plan, it decided to open a direct discussion throughout the entire country with each cutter and each worker engaged in mechanized cutting, loading and hauling, so as to establish firm commitments that will make it possible to make up for the lags and progress further. These include remaining at work on the harvest, including Saturdays and Sundays; increasing the productivity in these jobs so as to insure a high and stable rate of grinding; and intensifying the effort related to the special sugar harvest emulation.

It also appealed to all the workers for revolutionary action to surmount any contingency that might arise as a result of the rainfall or other weather conditions.

They were likewise called upon to multiply their efforts and hold a strong emulation movement in which the workers participate on a large scale, to increase the fulfillment of the plans in preparation for the next sugar harvest; with emphasis on the tasks related to clearing and preparing the land, planting, weeding, fertilization and irrigation of the cane, the cultivation after the cutting, and each and every one of the activities associated with attention to cultivation in the cane enterprises.

Executive Secretariat, National Committee.

Ciego de Avila Efforts Pledged

Havana GRANMA in Spanish 27 Feb 78 p 3

[Text] Ciego de Avila--At a meeting with the heads of all the organizations and agencies, Rafael Valdes, the party's first secretary in the province, declared: "With rain or without it, we have no doubt of the fact that we shall stabilize the sugar harvest with high standings."

He said that these 100 days of decisive effort will be used here not only for the sugar harvest, but also for cane and non-cane agriculture, livestock raising, construction and the other economic tasks of the province.

He was emphatic in stating: "If we take the necessary steps (and we are in a position to do so), the province can give a great response to the commander-in-chief and the leaders of the revolution; and this will also qualify us to fulfill the plans that we have for 1979 and 1980."

2909

CSO: 3010

ARTICLE EXAMINES SITUATION, SEES UNCERTAIN FUTURE

Bridgetown ADVOCATE-NEWS in English 27 Feb 78 p 4 FL

[Article by Hubert Williams, CANA's chief editor, just back from a visit to Georgetown]

[Text] Guyana moves into its ninth year as a republic wobbly from an economic battering over the past 12 months and uncertain about the course ahead.

Political expressions of confidence which came last week during fairly restrained anniversary celebrations have evidently brought no enthusiastic response from the people at large.

There is a grim mood in the cooperative republic. Complaints are legion and rumours are rampant.

The really severe financial problems, personal excesses and theft within the bureaucracy, burgeoning crime and other social difficulties are among the challenges that will test Prime Minister Forbes Burnham's skill by next anniversary.

Mr. Burnham has been calling for sacrifice, hard work, honesty, accelerated production, both for domestic consumption and to sell overseas. He wants, too, consolidation of what he terms the gains of the past and a determination to overcome the hurdles of the future.

Only last Thursday as the nation marked the eighth republic anniversary with a holiday, President Arthur Chung, obviously conceding there was currently a grave situation, said, however, he was confident the country would not only survive, but progress.

Unfortunately, thousands of Guyanese (some of them becoming increasingly vocal publicly) do not share the official confidence.

And their option has been exodus, even though tax measures are making departure the most expensive anywhere in the Commonwealth Caribbean.

Exact figures of Guyanese leaving their homeland to settle abroad as second-class citizens (as state officials call it) are not readily available. However, the story is told by the crowded manifests of out-going international flights and the rush daily to a number of centres around the capital, Georgetown.

The Immigration Department which issues passports are getting crowds with which they can hardly cope, and so are the Birth Certificate Office, the Exit Tax Section of the Inland Revenue Department, the Character Clearance Division of Police Headquarters, and Visa Section of the United States Embassy.

The purpose of the throng at these offices is interlinked. For whatever reason, people are leaving in streams and a new feature of the exodus is the rising number of former strong supporters of the governing People's National Congress (PNC).

In a way, racial-tribal instincts are revolted that in the current austerity, from which there is no promise of early relief, the essentially Afro-Guyanese urban communities appear the hardest hit.

Apart from the lines, at the various offices, of those intending flight, there are other lines, the length of which is determined by periodic shortages of basic food items.

Government spokesmen have said there are no real shortages, as such, but that the situation results from a combination of factors: mal-distribution, the machinations of unscrupulous businessmen bent on hoarding and blackmarketing, concerned consumers buying more than for immediate needs and illegal sales abroad, particularly across the Corentyne River to Suriname.

Generally, a picture of Guyana's mood, which differs sharply from the official reflection, came through as part of the republic anniversary celebrations in a calypso by singer Cedric Williams which detailed the people's dissatisfactions.

There was spontaneous public reaction wherever he sang. And people formed queues to give him money in appreciation and request encores.

The official reaction has, however, been markedly different. The song has been banned from the radio, tape seized and an organiser called on the carpet to explain how come such an "anti-national" song was allowed through for the anniversary festivities.

With the economy virtually spinning, the government has been unable to put a brake on prices, in fact, it has had largely to dismantle its structure of subsidies, thus jacking up the retail price of such widely-used food as flour, rice, edible oil and others.

And the chances are, more is yet to come--in the long-delayed 1978 National Budget which Finance Minister Mr. Frank Hope will present to Parliament today.

The general belief among Guyanese is that they are already taxed to saturation point a situation which some believe has acted as a disincentive to nationals tempted to return home from a rising tide of white racism in Britain.

Nevertheless, officials within the government system felt that today Mr. Hope will have some more disclosures to make.

Motor vehicles for private use, importation of which is already drastically reduced, may be a prime target.

License fees could be more than doubled. A 1600-cc car for which the annual license last year was G\$75 could cost its owner G\$160 this year, by a taxing mechanism of 10 cents per cubic centimetre of engine capacity.

In addition, the cost of drivers licenses, fitness certificates and inspection fees may all rise after today.

Passports, too, now costing G\$10 for 5 years' duration, liquor and cigarettes are expected to go up.

There may also be within the finance minister's presentation of the 1978 estimates, provision spelled out for harsher measures to stem the currency drain.

Guyana has a G\$15 travel allowance requiring Central Bank permission for anything more and any foreign exchange transactions.

There is also tight regulation governing the value of jewelry which nationals can take abroad on their person or in baggage.

However, people have been devising some quite astonishing ways of getting money out. And in spite of the fact the Central Bank has made it known worldwide Guyana is not redeeming its currency, there is still a busy trade abroad in Guyana dollars.

At least one big bank in Canada is known to have been buying Guyana dollars at the rate of 27 Canadian cents each, and in turn finding a buyer in Switzerland.

Moreover, foreign personnel right within Georgetown have been showing more than passing interest in currency matters, with the exchange rate being one U.S. dollar for four Guyana dollars (the official rate is US\$1 to G2.55).

Quite apart from coping with that type of money situation, the Burnham Administration is battling with a massive balance of payments problem, with the country's foreign reserves believed in deficit by more than G\$100 million.

Sugar and bauxite earnings remain very depressed, for internal political reasons enhanced production this year is doubtful. Rice did well last year, with output reaching 220,000 tons.

However, sources within Dr. Cheddi Jagan's opposition People's Progressive Party (PPP) say word has already gone out to its traditional Indian rice-farming supporters to go slow with the 1978 first (or spring) crop, and that some who expressed disagreement have had a number of unexplained incidents on their property.

For the reasons of its current woeful financial health, and the possibility that 1978 will bring no relief from the plight of last year, the Burnham Administration has had to turn to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for assistance, with some of the unpalatable conditions that entails, according to Finance Ministry officials, agreement has finally been reached between Guyana and IMF negotiators for the extended fund facility. The level of aid over a 3-year period is said to be G\$300 million, and an IMF supervisory mission is due to arrive in Georgetown this week to, in a sense, "ride herd" over the Treasury and Central Bank.

In the past few months, the government has evidently been moving to put the country in a position to qualify, as it axed subsidies, sought to limit consumption, retrenched or redeployed thousands of state employees on various projects and scaled down expenditure on such non-productive paramilitary organisations as the National Service and People's Militia.

Devaluation of the Guyana dollar was a possibility mentioned in the early contacts with IMF, but is not a certainty. In fact, senior economists analysing the Guyana situation have said they could see little benefit derived from devaluation.

Not only is production depressed and imports already severely restricted, but the range of Guyana commodities available for sale abroad is so limited as to make devaluation at this stage a practically pointless move.

At the political level, Mr. Burnham continues to face the problem of whom among those available could provide Guyana with the best possible crisis cabinet, to cope with the internal difficulties and the imperatives of a foreign policy posture that must take cognisance of international economic realities.

One recent change has been that of Foreign Minister Mr. Fred Wills, acknowledged as a brilliant legal mind, skilled negotiator, but unpredictable and whose eccentricities oftentimes worried the Americans and British.

Mr. Wills succeeded the suave Shirdath Ramphal (now commonwealth secretary general) in 1975, and thereafter gave Guyana's foreign policy a sharply leftward jar, becoming decidedly anti-American in the latter half of 1976.

Mr. Will's final task as foreign minister was a meeting with Prime Minister Henk Arron in Surinam in an attempt to have the Paramaribo Administration restore licenses permitting Guyanese to fish the Corentyne River, which though bordering the two South American republics, is wholly owned by Surinam.

But Arron insisted on a swap, which in a way would have challenged the authority of the Guyana courts. He wanted Guyana to release a Surinam trawler "Sugam 26" confiscated last year for illegally fishing in Guyana's 200-mile economic zone in the southern Atlantic, and he would in turn re-open the river to fishermen in eastern Guyana.

When Mr. Wills' exit from the cabinet was announced, the official explanation was ill-health. But the Guyanese public was openly sceptical in response.

And well they might be. For on December 7 a friend sent Mr. Wills a memorandum indicating that his tenure within the cabinet would not be much longer, some of the reasons why, and who was most likely to be appointed.

At least one other cabinet minister will be out of the cabinet in another month, and a general reshuffle is not to be ruled out.

Generally, about foreign policy issues, Guyana is said to have been trying unsuccessfully so far to arrange a meeting in Washington for Prime Minister Burnham with President Jimmy Carter.

According to sources close to the U.S. Embassy in Georgetown, it has so far not been convenient to fit it into the President's very busy schedule.

At another level within the ruling party, concern is being expressed that Guyana has been losing its vanguard position on the world stage to fellow Caribbean state Jamaica, as apparently Mr. Burnham has to Jamaica Prime Minister Mr. Michael Manley.

This is seen in relation to links with President Fidel Castro and Cuba, entree to President Carter and the U.S. Government, the image in Africa and contacts with Eastern Europe.

All of these have seen Mr. Manley grandstanding over the past few months. While previously front-running Guyana recedes more into the background.

In addition, and within the same context, Jamaica, among the Caribbean nations, has more or less taken over the role once played proudly by Guyana at the United Nations, with its representatives impressing at the head of important commissions.

Mr. Burnham who came to power in December 1964 after long playing second fiddle to Dr. Jagan, a charismatic Marxist Indian dentist, has recently been stomping the country holding public meetings and getting together behind closed doors with hardcore party officials.

He sees national unity--which is taken to mean some coming together between blacks and east Indians, particularly--an essential to future progress.

How that is to be achieved has not really been clearly spelled out, nor is there known to be any reversal of the PNC's outright rejection of Jagan proposal for a National Front government with shared power among its constituent groups.

Much depends on an African-Indian accommodation and a PNC-PPP truce.

Some sections of the country's right-wing politicians have been turning attention to elections due in July and, under the present Constitution, not later than October. In fact, one, the Liberator Party, has just brought out a manifesto.

But knowledgeable within the PNC believe the "Liberators" may be in for a surprise.

They say a draft constitution is in hand, and that a small group who has the party's confidence had been alerted to the possibility of there being no election this year.

The draft proposals are for a 10-year parliament, include the features for fundamental restructuring of the present system in the Republic and may be made effectively retroactively to 1973. Were this true, the next elections would then be due in 1983.

The rationale is likely to be that in the throes of battling the present unprecedented economic crisis the cost, disruption and bitterness of a general election would not be in the country's interests.

One precedent quoted was what historians in Guyana call "The Long Parliament" (1937-1947)--the testing period during the Second World War when there was no election in the country, then a British colony.

One former Burnham faithful, discussing developments in the country, the pressures and growing disillusionment among PNC oldsters, declared: "We struggle for the party over the years, but did not bargain for what is now happening in this country."

And reference was made to the latest former PNC activist who "with tears in his eyes" flew out of the country for the United States a few days ago with his family.

Another senior official, questioned about an election bill and the new constitution he was certain would come before Parliament by mid-year and whether there was not a fear of opposition resistance said: "This society has reached such a stage of panic and hysteria that the illogical and irrational cannot be ruled out."

With such reports coming from fairly high quarters, there was added significance given to recent military maneuvers in the country, with grenade explosions and sten-gun bursts breaking the quite of night over the coastal capital city and heavily equipped soldiers, guns at the ready, swarming about strategic points, radio and police stations, Parliament buildings, municipal markets, water and electricity facilities and elsewhere.

Members of the public looked on in concern and, far from being impressed, appeared properly cowed.

CSO: 3020

EDITORIAL VIEWS U.S.-LATIN AMERICAN RELATIONS

Montevideo EL PAIS in Spanish 23 Feb 78 p 11

[Editorial: "Latin American-U.S. Interdependence"]

[Text] Latin America has frequently been a concern and worry for the U.S. From Monroe to Theodore Roosevelt the great country of the north expressed intentions and took actions that were always a faithful reflection of the enormous disparity in power between the two Americas. Later, when it abandoned the "big stick" diplomacy and with the arrival of the "Good Neighbor" policy of Franklin Roosevelt, and subsequently the Second World War, the area south of the Rio Grande began acquiring another meaning in the eyes of its powerful Anglo-Saxon neighbor. It can be said that Latin America found the way to the American consciousness, acquired a more relevant personality, and its declarations, its economy and its international influence became more important and worthy of consideration. The Marxification of Cuba was a tremendous shock that woke up the more intelligent leaders in the U.S., forcing them to deal equally with countries that it had not accorded such treatment to previously.

Nevertheless, the frustrations and preconceptions of a hundred years are still partially present; thus, Todman could state that "they are often rooted in our own societies and cannot be resolved by governments alone."

A change at the level of the man in the street is necessary throughout the hemisphere if the relations between the north and the south are to get on a solid footing. The absolute domination by one of the parties has given way to a growing interdependence, and this makes Latin America less easily ignored. Sixteen million Spanish-speaking persons live in the U.S.; other millions cross the borders regularly; one out of every six barrels of imported oil comes from Latin America; \$4 billion worth of narcotics come from the south annually, undermining the daily lives of middle-class Americans, and diverse raw materials, strategic minerals and a growing quantity of manufactured products heighten the presence of the forgotten continent in the prosperous north.

In turn, the U.S. exports more industrial products to Latin America than to the rest of the Third World and Japan combined, and its capital investment in this region is close to \$23 billion.

As a result, neither the U.S. nor Latin America can ignore one another.

Washington should realize that Latin America is not an abstraction, a region with a single voice and undifferentiated, but to the contrary, that it is a mosaic of individual and individualistic nations, with specific national objectives.

For its part, Latin America must grasp the idea that the northern democracy cannot play the role of a rich uncle, that it is a world leader, its interests are global, and in its foreign policy there are inescapable priorities. They should also recognize that its disinterested defense of human rights is part of the best American tradition and represents the essence of western civilization. As a counterpart of this, American diplomacy has to be realistic, to be well informed and not try to dictate its views to the rest of the continent.

But none of the above will lead to concrete actions if it is confined to the political academies or to high leadership circles, dedicated as they are to theories and often divorced from popular feelings. It must reach the man in the street, at the level where the real national decisions are formed, in the melting pot which gives birth to profound currents of opinion.

If a sincere effort is not made in this sense, what has happened so many times in the past will happen again, that is, the announcement of great intentions, the delivery of beautiful speeches, the preparation of ambitious programs, none of which becomes reality.

For innumerable reasons that are easily understood, the initiative belongs to the U.S. That is where the source of power and decision is, and that is where responsibility as a world leader belongs.

It is to be hoped that the name of each American president will not be associated with the presentation of generous and understanding policies, on paper, toward Latin America, but with obtaining goals that will form the basis for our mutual welfare and respect.

9015

CSO: 3010

URUGUAY

TRADE BALANCE WITH GDR REVEALS SURPLUS OF \$9 MILLION

Montevideo LA MANANA in Spanish 23 Feb 78 p 10

[Excerpt] Trade between our country and the GDR is favorable to our country; last year the favorable balance totaled \$9,210,933. Engineer Friedrich Hendel, trade attache at the GDR Embassy, indicated this in a press conference held yesterday on the ship Hilenburg concerning the Leipzig Fair.

He added that the foreign trade enterprises of the GDR have been major purchasers of Uruguayan products for some years. He wanted to give some trade figures for 1977. The GDR bought products from Uruguay totaling \$9,671,933 broken down as follows: beef--\$5,685,333; corned beef--\$316,800; wool (mainly tops)--\$2,316,000; oranges--\$1,275,000; lemons--\$186,000; and honey--\$72,800.

Nevertheless, we have sold products totaling only \$461,000, mainly telephones for ANTEL [National Telecommunications Administration]--approximately \$300,000--and repairs--\$95,000.

He said: Our enterprises are interested in continuing to purchase Uruguayan products and our government, through the Ministry of Foreign Trade, has revealed to the corresponding official organizations on repeated occasions its interest in increasing economic and trade relations with Uruguay. Talks between the different foreign trade organizations of the GDR and Uruguayan authorities have already begun.

It is necessary to understand that we can continue making large purchases only if we have the chance to sell our export products on the Uruguayan market with better terms than now.

To that respect, we still offer the general proposal expressed last year of supplying capital goods that Uruguay needs under good financing conditions and accepting Uruguayan products in exchange.

The GDR indicated that it could guarantee annual long-term purchases of the exportable balance of several Uruguayan products necessary to our economy (citrus fruits and wool tops to mention only two very important categories).

According to the above figures, the Fruchtimex and Textilcomerz enterprises are among the principal purchasers of Uruguayan products in their respective fields and the latter has agreed to purchase approximately \$2.5 million in tops in 1978. Thus we are again demonstrating our good intentions to intensify and increase trade between the two countries.

7717

CSO: 3010

URUGUAY

NONTRADITIONAL EXPORTS TOTALED \$303 MILLION

Montevideo LA MANANA in Spanish 6 Feb 78 p 8

[Excerpt] From January to November 1977 Uruguay exported a total of \$303,472,000 in nontraditional products while it exported \$223,348,000 in so-called traditional products.

In this way exports of those nontraditional products which open an important sector of the international markets to the Uruguayan economy continue to increase.

Total national exports in that period reached \$526 million, \$36,000 more than in 1976.

It is also important to point out that in 1976 exports of nontraditional products reached \$252 million; thus, there was a considerable increase in 1977.

Sales of live animals and products from the animal kingdom totaled \$116 million in that period in 1977 compared to \$131 million in 1976. Exports of food products, drinks and tobacco brought in \$20 million while in 1976 they contributed \$36 million.

Leather, fur and leather products totaled \$97 million and textiles and textile products totaled \$144 million. Exports of footwear brought in \$23 million and stone products, ceramic products, glass and glass products equaled \$6 million.

The principal line of imports between January and November 1977 was oil which cost the country \$182,324,000. It was necessary to import \$70 million in transportation and \$114 million in machines, equipment and electrical products.

7717

CSO: 3010

URUGUAY

TRADE MISSION REVEALS NIGERIAN INTEREST IN MEAT

Montevideo EL PAIS in Spanish 15 Feb 78 p 6

[Excerpt] Nigeria might purchase frozen meat and livestock from our country, according to sources from a firm that sponsored a visit to Montevideo by Nigerian businessman Alahaji Kuburo Bayero. The visitor held different negotiations in our capital and toured several meat-packing plants. Nigeria is a market that offers good prospects.

The private sector of Nigeria is very interested in purchasing frozen meat and livestock from Uruguay. This offers important prospects to our country in that strategic African market.

This was reported yesterday to EL PAIS by sources from the firm Victorica Eximport Ltda. which sponsored the visit of Nigerian businessman Alahaji Kuburo Bayero to our country. He returned to his country yesterday after holding different negotiations here.

The African industrialist held different negotiations in Montevideo, visited representatives of the local business sector and toured several meat-packing plants.

Nigeria is one of the African markets with better prospects since it imports foods that our country produces and exports oil.

Until a short time ago our country purchased large amounts of hydrocarbons from it.

Concretely Kuburo Bayero indicated his country's interest in Uruguayan meat whether frozen or alive. It was pointed out that Nigeria is a market of easy access since it does not impose health barriers like the EEC does.

The Nigerian industrialist obtained a master's in agronomy in the United States and has his base of operations in the cities of Kano

and Kaduna in his country. These are livestock zones some distance away from the capital of the country, Lagos.

The Visit

Alahaji Kuburo Bayero's visit to Uruguay was negotiated in Nigeria by businessman Raymond Durand, representative in Nigeria of the national firm Victorica Eximport Ltda.

Durand arranged the visit because of his interest in promoting trade between the two countries.

He stayed in Uruguay for a few days and flew to Nigeria yesterday at 1500 hours.

He mainly had contacts here with the private sector and at the end of the meetings our industrialists were optimistic concerning major participation by our country in the promising African market.

7717

CSO: 3010

URUGUAY

BRIEFS

EGYPT BUYS MEAT--Uruguay was awarded a bid for 2,200 tons of meat (in cash) recently in the Egyptian capital. Responsible sources told EL PAIS that the sale, although not very large, is important because it assumes the renewal of sales from our country to that Arab nation, our principal client in this field in the past 2 years. The informants indicated that the price obtained is appropriate for the present conditions of the world market. They added that several producing countries have begun an aggressive sales policy which has had negative repercussions on sales and prices. One of the most aggressive countries is Argentina which had been awarded the two contracts let by Egypt this year. It is fitting to recall that that Arab country will purchase 70,000 tons of meat through bids this year for the consumption of its people. Uruguay has been a frequent winner of bids in recent years which meant the sale of large volumes. Sources tied to meat commercialization consulted yesterday said that there are good possibilities that that trend of exports to Egypt will be maintained. Shipments of the bid should begin soon. [Text] [Montevideo EL PAIS in Spanish 4 Feb 78 p 1] 7717

JANUARY FISH EXPORTS--Fish exports during the first month of the present year probably reached a good level. In spite of the fact that the exact amount of currency received for that product is not yet known, it is estimated that the value of sales would greatly surpass \$1 million. As is known, it is expected that fish exports in 1978 will total between \$15 million and \$20 million. In 1977 the fishing sector exported products worth almost \$12 million while in 1976 an approximate figure of \$5 million was reached. Most of the exports sold during the past month went to Brazil which some time ago became one of the principal markets for Uruguayan fishing exports. [Excerpt] [Montevideo EL DIA in Spanish 6 Feb 78 p 1] 7717

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